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ON *DEOR* 14-17

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FOR more than a hundred years the third section of *Deor* has been a subject of learned debate, but nobody as yet has made a systematic study of the problems of the passage. The following discussion, while by no means exhaustive, is an attempt at such a study.¹

The Old English poem *Deor* has come down to us in the *Exeter book*, a manuscript of the late tenth century. By virtue of changes in subject matter, the poem falls naturally into seven sections, most of which are marked as such by formal devices. These devices are of two kinds: scribal and textual. The scribe marked the beginning of the poem by a large ornamental capital letter; this letter also served, of course, to mark the beginning of the first section. He marked the beginning of the other sections (except the last) by ornamental capitals not so large as the one he made at the beginning of the poem, but conspicuous enough. He marked the end of each section (except the sixth) with a colon, followed by a sign not unlike the figure 7. This combination (:7) is of regular occurrence in the manuscript at the end of a poem or of a section of a poem. The author of the text, as well as the

¹ Of earlier discussions, six will be referred to here by special abbreviations:

M 1933 = my edition of *Deor* in Methuen's Old English library;

M 1936 = my paper in *ELH*, III, 253-56;

M 1937 = my paper in *English studies*, XIX, 193-99;

N 1937 = F. Norman's paper in *MLR*, XXXII, 374-81;

N 1938 = F. Norman's paper in *London medieval studies*, I, 165-78;

W 1941 = L. Whitbread's paper in *MP*, XXXVIII, 371-84.

scribe who wrote it down, made use of a formal device to mark the end of a section. This device is commonly called a refrain; in our poem it is better described as a formula of consolation: *þæt ofereode; þisses swa mæg*. This formula occurs as the last line of every section except the sixth.² The scribe, in marking the limits of the various sections, was obviously guided by the formula of consolation; since this formula did not occur at the end of the sixth section, he did not mark the end of that section or the beginning of the next by any scribal device but treated these two sections as one.

In dividing his poem into sections, the poet did not stop with the formula of consolation. We have already seen that each section deals in its own way with the theme of misfortune common to all the sections; that is, the subject matter of each section is peculiar to that section. But another fundamental feature of the poet's technique of division remains to be considered. Each section is complete and self-sufficient, capable of standing alone as an independent poem. The absence of connective particles, cross-references, and other devices commonly used to link the parts of a whole is noteworthy. The poem makes a whole because its various sections are parallel in matter and manner³ and have a common theme—misfortune. More particularly, the formula of consolation by repetition serves to bind the sections together as well as to hold them apart. But the ordinary links are wholly wanting. For this reason it is possible to take any section of this poem for itself; so taken, it will stand alone, needing no support from its context, and containing within itself not a single reference or allusion to that context. This feature of the poet's technique of division is striking enough, but its full significance appears only when the poem is looked at in the large. Then the greatness of the poet's structural achievement becomes manifest: he made a series of strictly independent parts into a closely knit whole.

We come now to the passage with which we are here particularly

² This section differs from the others in that the poet here takes up not a particular example of misfortune outlived but misfortune in general. Because of this generalized treatment of the theme, the particularized formula of consolation used to end the other sections could not be repeated here; instead, we find a general consolatory statement more in keeping with the treatment of misfortune characteristic of the section. See my discussion in *M* 1933, pp. 14 ff.

³ Except for the sixth section; see the preceding footnote.

concerned. It reads as follows (*Exeter book*, fol. 100a, ll. 17-19 of the manuscript page):

We þæt mæð hilde monge gefrignon wurdon grund lea
se geates frige þæt hi seo sorg lufu slæp ealle binom .
þæt ofer eode þisses swa mæg . :7

The division of this passage into alliterative lines (ll. 14-17 of our poem) makes no difficulties and has never been in question:

14 We þæt mæð hilde monge gefrignon
wurdon grund lease geates frige
þæt hi seo sorg lufu slæp ealle binom.
17 þæt ofer eode þisses swa mæg.

The passage immediately follows the second, or Beadohild, section of the poem (ll. 8-13), a section which ends with the formula of consolation, followed by scribal marks indicating the conclusion of a section. The capital *W* of *we* 14 represents a large ornamental initial *wyn* in the manuscript. Our passage ends regularly enough, with the formula of consolation and the usual scribal marks of conclusion. We have every right, then, to take the passage for a distinct and independent section of our poem, and in fact it is regularly so taken. Attacks upon the integrity of the section have not been wanting, however. We begin with that of Tupper, who in 1911 wrote:

... to me the passage seems sun-clear. "Hild," about whom there has been so much pother, is obviously no other than the Beadohild of the preceding stanza; and *þæt mæð*, as the definite article indicates, clearly refers to her violation by Weland, of which the poet has just spoken. . . .⁴

In this way Tupper made line 14 into a kind of pendant to the second, or Beadohild, section of the poem. He went on to interpret *geates* (l. 15) as another name for the *Niðhad* of the first section, and he explained lines 15-16 as portraying "Nithhad's grief at the loss of his sons"—the brothers of Beadohild mentioned in the second section. Obviously, this interpretation robs our section of its independence and unity alike, and for these reasons alone it must be rejected. We may say with assurance that, since *Niðhad* and his children have already appeared earlier in the poem, we are debarred from reading them into the present section. The various parts of *Deor* are mutually exclusive in subject matter. The poet's adherence to this principle is marked

⁴ F. Tupper, *MP*, IX, 265 f.

throughout, but it is especially notable in the first two sections, which are kept rigidly independent of each other even though both deal with the same story. We cannot admit any departure from the principle of mutual exclusiveness in the third section of our poem, in the absence of unshakable and conclusive evidence that the poet in this one case failed to follow his elsewhere invariable practice. No such evidence has been forthcoming, and we need not further consider Tupper's interpretation of our passage.⁵

Another attempt to link the third section to the second was that of Ekwall and Whitbread. In 1934 the former scholar observed: "To me it looks as if *þæt Mæðhilde* were an expression analogous to *hyre sylfre þing* in line 9."⁶ It will be noted, however, that Ekwall expressed himself with great caution; he made no outright statement that the word *þing* was to be taken as understood after *þæt*, and spoke of an "analogy" only. Whitbread proceeded with less prudence. He wrote (W 1941, p. 374):

... we may, however, quite well take *Mæðhilde* as genitive by giving it the obvious value of being semi-partitive and dependent on *þæt* (demonstrative pronoun), which itself stands for a neuter noun, most likely *þing* 'affair.' This last is used at line 9 in the previous section of *Deor* in a more pregnant sense, 'case, plight, misfortune,' and thus may be the more easily understood in line 14 as a connecting link with what has gone before: the poet in line 14 wishes to imply he is to speak of another woman's affair, 'that [affair, case] of Mæðhild,' just as he has already spoken of the affair of Beadohild. . . . There is, needless to say, no reason to insert the noun *þing* in the text of line 14, where it would disturb the alliteration.

Another strong argument against inserting *þing* after *þæt* might have been mentioned: such an insertion would make line 14 reminiscent of a line in the preceding section and would thereby break the poet's structural pattern, which (as we have seen) requires that the various sections stand each for itself. But this objection applies even more strongly to the interpretation of *þæt Mæðhilde* which Whitbread favors. Indeed, the phrase, so taken, becomes intelligible only by reference back to the *hyre sylfre þing* of line 9, as Whitbread makes perfectly clear. This scholar's confidence here is matched only by his un-

⁵ Wyatt's attempt to save Tupper's explanation of l. 14 by shifting that line from the third to the second section of the poem does too much violence to the inherited text to be acceptable (A. J. Wyatt, *Anglo-Saxon reader* [1922], pp. 140, 261 f.).

⁶ *MLR*, XXIX, 82.

awareness of the structural crime which he would thus impute to the unfortunate poet. Whitbread's interpretation, like Tupper's, does violence to a fundamental artistic feature of the poem and cannot be upheld.

But it is time for us to turn to our section in its own right. In so doing, we take up first the grammatical structure of line 14. This line ends with a verb, *gefrugnon*, which needs a subject and an object. Let us begin by looking for the subject. Here two alternatives seem to exhaust the possibilities. On the one hand, the subject may be *we*; on the other, it may be *we . . . monge*. In the latter case, *monge* is to be taken as the nominative plural of the familiar word *monig*, 'many.' Such a phrase as *we monge*, 'we many,' strikes one as strange enough, and Dickens' translation 'many of us'⁷ does not really help, as *we* is a nominative, not a genitive, form. But it may be that "we many," however foreign to English today, was a construction possible in OE times. The only way to find out, of course, is to look for parallels. This, Whitbread seems to have done (W 1941, p. 376, n. 14), but without success: the only passages which he cites are *Maldon* 31, which has a personal pronoun but no form of *monig*, and *Deor* 19, which has a form of *monig* but no personal pronoun. I thought I had found a parallel when I came upon *hi . . . monige* in *Riddle 30* of the *Exeter* book, but this parallel did not stand up under analysis.⁸ So far as I know, OE *monig* always takes a (partitive) genitive form of the personal pronoun, a construction equivalent to the "of"-phrase in use today. The *monge* of our text, then, if it really means 'many,' must be taken as a variation of the subject *we*. But in the familiar formula of introduction, *we . . . gefrugnon*, would it be consonant with OE poetic style to

⁷ B. Dickens, *Runie and heroic poems* (1915), p. 73.

⁸ The passage reads thus (ed. Mackie, *EETS*, CXCIV, 120):

þonne ic mec onhæbbe ond hi onhnigaþ to me,
monige mid miltse þær ic monnum sceal
ycan upcyme eadignesse

[when I (i.e., the Cross) raise myself up and they bow down to me, I am destined to add (divine) grace, upgrowth of blessedness, to many there among men].

Here *miltse* and *upcyme eadignesse* are variations and are dependent on *ycan*, 'add to,' taking the usual construction of the thing added (the construction with *mid* or with the dative), while *monige* is the object of *ycan*, specifying, as it does, those to whom something is added. Mackie translates the passage incorrectly. In the other version of the riddle (p. 190), be it noted, our word takes the form *mongum* and is construed with *ycan*, though with some difference in the sense.

vary the *we*? Unless I am mistaken, variation is here restricted to the object; such is the case, for instance, in *Beowulf*, where our formula is used to open the poem. The same restriction applies to kindred formulas of the first person (singular or plural), such as *ic gefrægn*, *ic (ge)hyre*, *we (ge)hyrdon*; nowhere is the subject pronoun varied, modified, or qualified in any way. We are driven to the conclusion that *monge* cannot be a part of the subject in *Deor* 14.

Having established the obvious (namely, that *we* is the subject of *gefrugnon*), we go on to seek an object for our verb. The manifestly accusative form *þæt* strikes the eye at once, and *we þæt gefrugnon*, 'we learned that,' not only makes excellent sense but is also a construction parallels to which may readily be found. Before concluding, however, that *þæt* is the demonstrative pronoun, we must consider the other possibility, namely, that it is the definite article (or the demonstrative adjective). If adjectival, its noun would be the *mæð* which immediately follows it in our text. But the only neuter noun *mæð* recorded in OE means 'the cutting of grass' (modern *math*, 'a mowing')⁹ and such a word seems unsuitable here. Many commentators therefore prefer to take *mæð* with the *hilde* that follows it (rather than with the *þæt* that precedes it) and read *Mæðhilde* (a proper name). It would of course be possible, however, to interpret *mæð* as an OE neuter noun otherwise unknown, and in fact *hapax legomena* are not rare in OE poetry. In such cases it is obviously needful to show that the word might well have existed in OE, even though not recorded in our scanty records. Its occurrence in later English, or in other Germanic dialects, would be evidence with a bearing here. No such neuter noun, however, is known either to later English or to the other Germanic dialects, and the only connection to be found for it is the Icelandic verb *meiða*, 'hurt, maim, injure' (no corresponding noun **meið* occurs with which OE *mæð* might be directly equated). This connection is too uncertain to justify us in setting up an OE *mæð* neuter 'injury' on the presumption that it is recorded in *Deor* 14.¹⁰ Whitbread's suggestion (W 1941, p. 373) that

⁹ R. Imelmann, *Forschungen zur ae. Poesie* (1920), p. 480, states that *maþ*, 'Mahd,' is likewise feminine.

¹⁰ The long vogue of the supposed *hapax legomenon* may be explained in terms of two misconceptions. First, since Beadohild's case was one of rape, the Hild of l. 14, whether identified with Beadohild or not, was also taken to be a victim of rape (cf. W. W. Lawrence, *MP*, IX, 32). Second, the word *mæð* was thought to mean 'rape.' In fact, of course, the *Deor* poet was careful to vary his examples of misfortune outlived, and, since Beadohild

mæð may be a phonetic variant of *mægð*, 'maiden' (gen. sing.) seems hardly warranted; certainly he cites no OE examples for loss of *g* before a dental fricative, and I find none in Bülbring's list.¹¹ My earlier statement about the loss of *g* before *þ* (M 1937, p. 194) was a blunder.

The reading *mæð Hilde* thus turns out to be inadmissible. Before plumping for the alternative reading *Mæðhilde*, however, the great objection to that reading must be considered. Lawrence puts the matter thus: "Since the 'Maethhild' interpretation lacks any direct support, it seems best to assume that the true reading is the very common noun *Hilde* [sic]."¹² Lawrence's point here seems to be this: the name *Mæðhild* is peculiar to our passage, and no character so named is known to history or story, whereas *Hild* is a familiar name, and characters so named are well known in history and story; in other words, the reading *Mæðhilde* lacks external support (or "direct support," as Lawrence calls it), while the reading *Hilde* has abundant external support. This is a weighty argument, and those who prefer the rare name *Mæðhild* to a name so well evidenced as *Hild* must show good cause for their preference. If they do not, the way is left open to readings like *mægð* (Lawrence, Grienberger, Whitbread) or *mæðel* (Holthausen) or even *mod* (Whitbread),¹³ emendations of *mæð* designed to make possible the reading *Hilde*. But first let us see whether Lawrence's point is well taken. Certainly the name *Mæðhild* occurs nowhere else in English, though Searle gives three other names in *Mæð*-,¹⁴ and one of them, *Mæðhelm*, occurs in so old a record as the *Liber vitae*.¹⁵ The occurrence of these other names in *Mæð*- shows that *Mæðhild* is a name correctly formed, a name which might well have been in use among the English, even though not on record. But Imelmann overstates the case when he writes:

Natürlich muss es, wie im Germanischen des Festlands, so im Englischen den Namen *Mæðhild* oft gegeben haben. Hätte ihn *Deor* im Original wirklich

was ravished, we may be sure that the lady of our section (whatever happened to her) was not ravished. Moreover, we have no reason to think that *mæð*, if such a word existed at all, meant 'rape.' The hypothetical connection with Icelandic *meiða* gives us no basis for such a meaning. With both these misconceptions out of the way, no substantial grounds remain for postulating any OE neuter noun *mæð* other than the ancestor of the modern *math*.

¹¹ *Altenglisches Elementarbuch* (1902), p. 216.

¹² *MP*, IX, 32.

¹³ These are discussed and dismissed in W 1941, pp. 374-76.

¹⁴ *Onomasticon Saxonum*, p. 346.

¹⁵ H. Sweet, *Oldest English texts*, p. 156.

nicht geboten, so hätten die ersten Leser im Hinblick auf das häufige *mæð* und die damit geformten Eigennamen entweder Thorpe's Emendation vorzuziehen, oder die ganze Strophe unverständlich finden dürfen.¹⁶

We have no evidence that names in *Mæð-* were frequent in England, and we may properly conclude from the want of record that *Mæðhild* was infrequent, if indeed it was used at all. But this point is of little moment, for in all likelihood the story of *Mæðhild* was not English in origin but came to England from the Continent, like the other stories alluded to in *Deor*. And since the name element *maþ* is wanting in Scandinavia but familiar in Germany, we must go to Germany to look for the name of the lady. In Old German (whether high or low), one would expect to find the name spelled *Mathild* or *Mathilt* in the earliest times, *Madild* or *Madilt* in later times. In fact, however, no forms with medial *d* occur; at any rate, Förstemann records none. Under the name element "*MATHA (mátha)*" he writes:

Wol aus vorgermanischer zeit ererbt; man denkt an altgall. *matu bonus* . . . im Germanischen liegt ags. *mædh* honor, reverentia am nächsten. Leicht ist die vermischung mit *MAHTI*. . . . Mathhildis ist in Mahthildis aufgegangen und dort nicht mehr auszuseiden.¹⁷

Since it proved impossible to distinguish *Mathild* [i.e., *Maþild*] from *Mahtild* in the records, Förstemann put all the forms under *Mahtild*. He was right in so doing, for the want of forms with medial *d* shows that *Mahtild* absorbed its competitor. Any stories, then, which might have been current in Old Germany about Mathild would presumably, in later times, be told about Mahtild. Furthermore, if and when such a story made its way from Germany to Scandinavia, the heroine might be expected to keep this name or take its Scandinavian equivalent. The latter is, in fact, the case. A character named *Magnhild* figures in two versions of a well-known Scandinavian ballad, as I have elsewhere pointed out (M 1936 and 1937). This name answers to the southern *Mahtild*, the native Scandinavian name element *magn*, 'main,' having replaced the foreign *maht*, 'might.'¹⁸ And the story

¹⁶ Pp. 479 f. Thorpe was the first to read *Mæðhilde* (in his edition of the *Exeter book*, p. 378), but his reading was no emendation!

¹⁷ *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, Vol. I (1900), cols. 1108 and 1110.

¹⁸ The name also occurs in Scandinavia in its foreign (German) form, but these occurrences are late and rare, whereas the synonymous native *Magnhild(r)* is old and of frequent occurrence in the records. See E. H. Lind, *Norsk-Islandske Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn* (Uppsala, 1905-15), cols. 752-54 (*Magnhild*) and col. 757 (*Makthild*). The spelling with *k* marks the name as non-Scandinavian, of course.

told there of Magnhild fits the tale of Mæðhild as recorded in *Deor*, of which more anon. Here I am concerned only to show that, in spite of Lawrence, the reading *Mæðhilde* does not altogether lack external support. Moreover, it is important to remember that a reading *Hilde* would be poor art, from the point of view of structure, since it might be taken to refer to Beadohild.¹⁹ Finally, the reading *Mæðhilde* involves no emendation and is therefore to be preferred to the reading *Hilde*, which, as we have seen, requires emendation of the preceding *mæð*. These considerations, I think, more than offset that presumption in favor of the reading *Hilde* to which Lawrence rightly draws attention.

The *þæt* of line 14, then, is the demonstrative pronoun, not the adjective or article, and *we þæt . . . gefrugnon* means 'we learned that.' But what did we learn? We learned *Mæðhilde monge*, presumably, and, since *Mæðhilde* seems to be a genitive here, the line may provisionally be translated: 'we learned that, [namely] Mæðhild's *monge*.' Evidently the meaning of *monge* is the great problem of the line. We have already seen that this word cannot mean 'many.' In Middle English a word *mong*, 'company, commerce, intercourse,' occurs, and we must consider the possibility that this word existed in OE as well. It corresponds, however, to OE *gemong*, which would lose its prefix in ME times, and if, on the basis of the present passage, we presume the existence of an OE *mong* we had better take it for a loan-word. Icelandic *mong*, '(love) commerce,' comes at once to mind, and here, of course, the problem of the prefix does not arise. On the other hand, Scandinavian loan-words are extremely rare in OE poetic texts, and it would be particularly hazardous to presume a unique occurrence of such a loan (as would be needful here); this the more since ME *mong* (which, as we have seen, is probably from OE *gemong*) cannot be used as evidence for the existence of the supposed loan. We conclude that the reading *monge* of the inherited text cannot be saved. If we are to interpret the line at all, we must resort to emendation.

If we look at the half-line *monge gefrugnon* with an eye for textual mistakes, we see at once that the sequence *ge ge* may be a case of dittography. If it is, by canceling the first *ge* we may obtain a half-line *mon gefrugnon*. This reading was long ago suggested by F. Klae-

¹⁹ Compare Imelmann, p. 480.

ber,²⁰ who described it, rightly enough, as "a simple textual solution." The *mon* thus obtained may be taken as a phonetic variant of *mān*, 'evil deed, crime, sin.'²¹ Certainly the *Exeter book* scribe spelled *mān* with an *o* upon occasion,²² and his repeated departures from conventional spelling when he wrote this particular word may well reflect his personal pronunciation or that of his time. More precisely, the rounding of OE *ā*, which later became general, may have set in earlier in a nasal environment and may have been particularly early in the word *mān*, which both begins and ends with a nasal.²³ If, then, we adopt the reading *mon gefrugnon* and interpret the form *mon* as a legitimate variant of OE *mān*, our line means: 'we learned that, [namely] the sin(s) of Mæðhild.' This makes sense, but the sense it makes is a bit startling; one would not expect to find Mæðhild the villain of the piece. As it happens, another *mān* existed in OE, the ancestor of the modern *moan*, though we find no record of it until ME times.²⁴ This *mān* too was presumably pronounced with a rounded vowel by the *Exeter book* scribe. The "textual solution" required for the reading *mone*, 'lamentation(s),' is just as simple as that which gave us the reading *mon*, 'sin(s).' We must suppose that when the scribe wrote *monge gefrugnon* for *mone gefrugnon* he was guilty of the same error that he made in *Bi Domes Dæge* 74, where he wrote *mongegum* for *monegum*. This error grew out of anticipation: looking forward to the *g* which he was to write after *e*, he made the mistake of writing it before the *e* as well. If we adopt the reading *mone gefrugnon*, our line means: 'we learned that, [namely] the lament(s) of Mæðhild.' This reading makes Mæðhild a victim of misfortune, a figure parallel to the other victims of misfortune in the various sections of the poem. Klaeber suggested a reading *mōd* as an alternative to *mon* (for *mān*), and this reading was

²⁰ *Anglia Beiblatt*, XVII (1906), 284, n. 1; also *Anglia*, L (1926), 121, n. 1.

²¹ Klaeber, however, did not so take it and suggested further emendation to *mān*; I took the same road in M 1936, p. 254, and 1937, p. 197, though headed for another destination.

²² Krapp and Dobbie, *Exeter book* (1936), p. 309, note three examples of this spelling (apart from the present case, of course).

²³ Occasional spellings in late tenth-century manuscripts (e.g., *sole* in *Beowulf* 302) indicate that rounding had begun by that time.

²⁴ *Owl & nightingale*, l. 1520, is the earliest occurrence known to me. In a footnote of his edition of *Owl* (p. 129), J. W. H. Atkins says: "One of the earliest instances of *mone* < OE *mān* (moan)." The date of the poem is in dispute; some scholars put it as early as the 1180's. On *moan*, see my discussions in M 1936, pp. 253 f., and 1937, p. 197, to which I have nothing to add.

adopted by Holthausen,²⁵ but it does too great violence to the text to be acceptable. The choice between the readings *mon* and *mone* cannot be made without study of the rest of the section; to such a study we now proceed.

The problems of lines 15 and 16 differ markedly from those which we have been considering, and we shall find it simpler to take the two lines together. We begin with *geates frige* (l. 15). The first member of this collocation is obviously the genitive singular of the proper name *Geat*, and the problem here is the identification of the individual who bore the name. The second member has been interpreted variously. Let us take up first the hypothesis that *frige* is the nominative (not elsewhere recorded) of a plural noun *frige* which occurs four times in OE in oblique case constructions with the genitive singular of *wer*, 'man.' In three of the four occurrences of this rare word (*Christ* 37 and 419, and *Elene* 341), *frige* makes the second member of the standing expression *weres frige*, 'a man's embraces' (more precisely, 'a man's actions in sexual intercourse with a woman'); here *weres* has a generic sense. In the fourth occurrence (*Juliana* 103), the same standing expression appears, but with a difference: *weres* is preceded by the definite article (or demonstrative adjective), and the reference therefore is not to the human male in general but to a particular man. The *Geates frige* of the *Deor* passage may reasonably be taken as a variant of this construction, a variant in which the man's name, rather than *þæs weres*, is used. If we so take it, *Geates frige* means 'Geat's embraces.' The advocates of the connection with *frige* plural, however, invariably refuse to take *Geates frige* in the sense which this connection seems to require. Instead, they give to *frige* a spiritualized sense 'love' or a romanticized sense 'passion.' As a rule they do this arbitrarily, without explaining why, and we can only conjecture what their reasons may be. Whitbread is franker. He admits that *frige* plural refers to sexual intercourse everywhere else but thinks it has a special (otherwise unrecorded) meaning in *Deor*. He writes (W 1941, p. 377):

Here in *Deor* the appearance of the term with a figurative epithet *grundlease* implies, as has been generally recognized, that we need to give it, too, a figurative value and render it less realistically as 'sexual desire, passion.'

²⁵ In his edition of 1929; in his earlier editions he read *monge*.

The reasoning can hardly be called cogent. If, for instance, one speaks of a bitter battle, one is using "bitter" figuratively, but it does not follow that one is using "battle" figuratively or "less realistically." Whitbread would have done better to confine himself to the truism that the context must be considered in determining the meaning which a word has in that context. Let us apply this truism here. The adjective *grundleas*, 'bottomless,' occurs, in its literal sense, only in constructions with *pytt* and the like, the reference being to the pit of hell, which was thought to be actually without a bottom. If we analyze this literal meaning, we find it made up of a general notion (limitlessness) and a restriction of this notion to downward extension in space. The adjective may therefore be defined as 'extending downward in space without limit.' But *grundleas* may also be used to describe immaterial things like *gitsung*, 'greed.' Here the general notion of limitlessness is kept, but the restriction to spatial extension downward is lost (since it has no meaning in such a connection), and a restriction to temporal extension forward takes its place. With *gitsung*, then, *grundleas* means 'insatiable.' What would it mean in the construction with *frige*, 'embraces'? Here, too, the general notion of limitlessness would be kept, and the restriction to temporal extension forward would take the place of that to spatial extension downward. The expression *grundlease frige*, then, would mean either 'endless embraces' (the durative sense) or 'numberless embraces' (the frequentative sense). So much for the denotation of *grundleas*. Now for its connotation. When used literally, as we have seen, it occurred only as an element in the description of hell. This gave the word an evil turn and restricted its figurative use accordingly: it is found only with words indicative of evil or capable of taking a bad sense. In the latter case, *grundleas* by its presence gives notice that the word it modifies is used in a bad sense. In the construction with *grundleas*, then, *frige*, 'embraces,' would lose the cold, neutral, objective connotation which it has in the *Christ*, *Elene*, and *Juliana* passages and would take on a sense not expressible in decent terms. But we are not yet done. Let us pursue to the end the theory which identifies the *frige* of *Deor* 15 with *frige*, 'embraces.' Line 15 tells us what happened to Mæðhild; line 16 tells us that the result was—loss of sleep! The endless or numberless embraces of Geat kept Mæðhild awake at night! This is well enough for low

comedy, but wholly out of place in *Deor*, and the theory that *frige* (l. 15) is the nominative of *frige*, 'embraces,' falls to the ground.²⁶

If *frige* (l. 15) does not mean 'embraces,' nor yet 'love' or 'passion,' what does it mean? Conybeare, the first editor of *Deor*, took it in the sense 'kings' or 'chiefs,'²⁷ and this sense, more or less modified, had a long and prosperous career in *Deor* scholarship, though now fallen into deserved oblivion. We need not discuss it here²⁸ but may turn at once to the only possibility left to us. In M 1936 and 1937, *frige* was interpreted as the genitive singular of a feminine *jo*-stem noun *freo*, 'lady.' This noun, etymologically identical with the adjective *freo*, 'free' (originally 'dear'), was obsolescent in OE but had not died out altogether. It survived in two senses: (1) as the name of the heathen goddess of love and (2) as a common noun meaning 'lady.'²⁹ The occurrences of the proper name are naturally limited to the singular. The nominative singular does not occur in OE, but it occurs in early ME in the forms *Frea* and *Fræa*.³⁰ With these may be compared *frea* for *freo*, 'free,' in the *Vespasian psalter*.³¹ The genitive singular is familiar in the standing expression *Frige dæg*, 'Friday,' with its pendants *Frige niht* and *Frige æfen*. The dative singular, like the nominative, occurs only in Lawman's *Brut*.³² In the older manuscript of this poem we get the dative form *Freon*; from this form it would appear that *Freo* might be given *n*-stem inflection in early ME. In the later manuscript we get an uninflected dative *Frea* (similarly with *Woden* and

²⁶ This theory goes back to Thorpe, who, however, rendered *frige* with 'courtships,' presumably with German *freien*, 'woo,' in mind. Holthausen in his edition of 1913 (II, 174) urged that *Geates frige* be taken in the sense 'her love for Geat.' In his edition of 1929 (II, 196) he no longer urged this interpretation but kept it as a possible alternative to the subjective genitive construction. Whitbread (1941, p. 379) revived the earlier view of Holthausen, but the objective genitive with *frige*, 'embraces,' is not recorded and makes the sense of the present passage even more base (if that be possible) than does the usual subjective genitive interpretation. Moreover, *frige*, 'embraces,' are a prerogative of the male (cf. Eimenkel, *Anglia*, XXXVII [1913], 538).

²⁷ *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon poetry* (1826), p. 241.

²⁸ For a discussion see Imelmann, pp. 473 f., and W. W. Lawrence, *MP*, IX (1911), 31.

²⁹ On the etymology see F. Holthausen, *Ae. ety. Wb.* (1932), under "*frio* 2. fem." (p. 116); on the inflection see J. and E. M. Wright, *Old English grammar* (1925), p. 147. Bosworth in his *Dict.* records *freo* as an indeclinable feminine, presumably because he took the *freo* of *Genesis* 457 to be accusative singular, but this form is actually genitive plural (cf. K. Luick, *Hist. gram.*, p. 118, bottom).

³⁰ Lawman's *Brut*, ed. Madden, II, 157.

³¹ H. Sweet, *Oldest English texts*, p. 312.

³² Ed. Madden, II, 158. See also Ekwall, *DEPN* (1936), p. xxviii, and under the names *Fretherne*, *Froyle*, *Frobury*.

Mone). The accusative singular does not occur. The occurrences of the common noun are three in number. The nominative singular occurs as *freo* in *Riddle 17* (l. 5) and is used most appropriately if Trautmann is right in solving the riddle as 'oven.'³³ If, however, "ballista" or "burg" is the proper solution, then *freo* must be emended to *frea*. In my opinion, *freo* here points definitely and intentionally to the solution 'oven,' and emendation is unjustified. Moreover, the use of an obsolescent word in riddling speech is manifestly nothing to be surprised at. The genitive singular occurs as *frige* in *Deor 15*, on the present theory. The genitive plural occurs as *freo* in *Genesis 457*. No other forms occur.³⁴ One would expect the following inflection for proper name and common noun alike:

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom.....	<i>freo</i>	<i>freo or frige</i>
Gen.....	<i>frige</i>	<i>freo</i>
Dat.....	<i>frige</i>	<i>freom</i>
Acc.....	<i>frige</i>	<i>frige or freo</i>

The occurrences conform to this scheme, except for the two ME dative singular forms: *Freon* and *Frea*. The first of these shows a tendency of our word to go over to *n*-stem inflection, perhaps on the analogy of *beo*, 'bee.' The second shows a tendency to become indeclinable (along with the other names for the heathen deities).

The *freo* of *Genesis B* (l. 457) is commonly taken to be a loan-word and is derived from Old Saxon *fri*. It may be granted that the OE poet would hardly have used the obsolescent *freo* had he not had *fri* before him in his Old Saxon original, but the form *freo* is obviously English, not German. Much the same may be said of the *frige* of *Deor 15*. In composing his third section, the *Deor* poet (as we saw above) presumably drew upon a Low German source. In this source Mæðhild would be mentioned by name, but in accordance with the Old Germanic technique of variation she would also be referred to as Geat's *fri*. The English poet quite naturally and properly reproduced

³³ M. Trautmann, *Bonner Beiträge*, XIX (1905), 180-84; see also F. Holthausen, *Anglia Beiblatt*, IX (1899), 357. Trautmann points out that the solution must be a masculine noun, to agree with *mundbora 1* and *eodor 2*.

³⁴ An accusative plural *freo* occurs in *Daniel 66* if the -s of the manuscript reading *freos* be canceled as a case of dittography (the next word begins with s). On this interpretation the treasure of the princes, mentioned in 65, is described in 66 as made up of *fea*, 'goods,' and *freo*, 'women.'

this kenning as closely as he could; nevertheless, the form *frige* is English, not German. The poet of *Genesis B* and the poet of *Deor*, confronted with *fri* in their respective sources, both fell back on the obsolescent English cognate *freo*, 'lady.'³⁵

Geates frige, then, is the genitive singular of the kenning *Geates freo* and is another way of specifying Mæðhild, who presumably was Geat's wife. This conclusion clears up at once one of the problems of line 16: namely, the meaning of *hi*. If *Geates frige* 15 is only a variation of *Mæðhilde* 14, then *hi* is the accusative singular feminine of the pronoun and stands in no need of emendation. It follows that *slæp ealle* is instrumental, and we must presume with Stefanović³⁶ that the final *e* of *slæpe* was lost by elision before the stressed diphthong immediately following. It remains to choose between the readings *mon* and *mone* of line 14. With the reading *mon*, lines 14-16 may be rendered:

We learned that: the sins of Mæðhild;
[they] became numberless, [the sins] of Geat's lady,
so that that distressing love bereft her of all sleep.

On this interpretation there is a curious incongruity between line 16, with its *sorglufu*, 'misfortune-bringing love,' and the implication that Mæðhild was a victim, and lines 14-15, with their *mon*, 'sins,' and the implication that Mæðhild was anything but a victim. In no other section of the poem do we find its central figure represented as self-victimized, and the reading *mon* makes an ill fit here. We turn, therefore, to the reading *mone*. With this reading the lines may be rendered:

We learned that: the moans of Mæðhild;
[they] became numberless, [the moans] of Geat's lady,
so that that distressing love bereft her of all sleep.

On this interpretation Mæðhild was the victim of a distressing love, and her distress found expression in numberless moans, endless lamentations, so that she got no rest even at night. This is intelligible

³⁵ We have no means of knowing how the obsolescence and final loss of OE *freo*, 'lady,' came about, but we may conjecture that the word fell out of use by virtue of its identity with the name of the heathen goddess of love. Christian prejudice may well have set up a taboo here which in time was extended from proper name to common noun.

³⁶ *Anglia*, XXXVII (1913), 534.

enough and fits well into the pattern of the poem. Nevertheless, the allusion remains obscure to us, and this for the reason that it is only an allusion and requires for its comprehension a knowledge of the story to which it refers. Our investigation, therefore, is not at an end. We must seek the tale to which the *Deor* poet here alludes.

As it happens, the tale has come down to us in ballad form. I have discussed the matter elsewhere (M 1936 and 1937) and will therefore content myself here with summaries of the two variants which concern us (summaries taken from M 1936) and with a few comments. The variants follow:

Gaute marries a fair maiden, Magnild by name. As the wedding journey is about to begin, Gaute sees his bride in tears. He asks her why she weeps. Magnild answers that she laments her approaching death in the Vending river. Gaute tells her he will build the bridge over the river high and strong, but she replies that one cannot escape one's fate. As they ride homeward they see a deer, and everyone, eager to take it, forgets the bride, who, at the bridge, falls into the water. Gaute, when he learns that Magnild has not been seen since the company crossed the stream, sends for his harp. When the harp is brought to him, he plays so strongly that Magnild, with her saddle and her horse, rises to the surface of the stream, in spite of everything the water demon can do. By the magic power of his harp, Gaute has overcome the evil spirit and saved his bride from death [Norwegian variant (Landstad, No. 51)].

Gauti and Magnhild his wife lie in bed together. He asks her why she mourns. She answers, she mourns because she is fated to drown in the Skotberg river. He tells her she shall not drown in the river, because he will make an iron bridge across it. She replies, "Though thou make it as high as a cloud, none can flee one's fate." After three days of feasting [the wedding feast?], they ride to the river. Gauti asks his man what has become of Magnhild. He is told that the bridge fell apart when she reached its middle, and that 50 men fell in but none paid any heed to Magnhild. Gauti asks for his harp. When it is brought he hurls it to the floor, so that 12 strings break. He hurls it again, and five more strings break. Then he plays upon it until his wife's body rises from the bottom and comes to land. He kisses his dead wife, buries her body, and makes new strings for his harp out of her hair [Icelandic variant (Grundtvig and Sigurðsson, No. 3)].

In comparing this tale with the *Deor* allusion, we begin naturally with the names. *Gauti* answers precisely to *Geat*, except that it has weak inflection, whereas *Geat* has strong inflection. One may compare the *Hreðel* of *Beowulf*, a name usually given strong inflection by the

poet, but in one passage (l. 454) given weak inflection.³⁷ The line of descent from *Mæðhild* to *Magnhild* has already been discussed (see above). The linguistic connections there set forth make it likely that the *Deor* poet used a German, not a Scandinavian, source (as I thought in 1936). As to the form in which this German source was cast, one may say that in all likelihood it was an alliterative poem in which the technique of variation was employed. It would be hazardous to say more; I would not now venture to call it a ballad, unless by ballad one means nothing more than a short narrative poem.³⁸ The *Deor* poet alludes to the opening scene of the tale, the scene in which Magnhild lies in bed mourning instead of sleeping. He does not cast this scene, however, into a conversation between husband and wife: Mæðhild, like Welund, Beadohild, and Theodric in their respective sections, holds the stage alone. The kenning *Geates frige* may be taken as a reminiscence or relic of what was a conversation in the poet's German source, but of this we cannot be sure; we know only that the poet's pattern did not admit the give and take of speeches, however short, but required complete concentration upon a single figure in each section (even the sixth). The version known to the *Deor* poet presumably had a happy ending, like the Norwegian variant given above; otherwise, it would not have fitted into the pattern of his poem. The villain of the piece is not mentioned in the third section of *Deor*,³⁹ but

³⁷ Several scholars (e.g., Lawrence, *MP*, IX, 37, and W 1941, p. 384) have sought support in *Beowulf* for the theory that the *Geat* of *Deor* was not a personal but a tribal name. The tribal name is used four times in *Beowulf* in the singular to denote the hero but not until the hero's true name and proper tribe have been duly given. The advocates of the tribal interpretation of the *Geat* of *Deor* have yet to produce a single true parallel to the usage which they read into the text. Until such a parallel is brought forward, we must presume that a tribal name is never used in the singular to name an individual without contextual mention of that individual's true name and tribe (cf. *MLN*, XLIII, 300 ff.). A name etymologically tribal might perfectly well be used (by somebody not a member of the tribe) as a personal name, of course. Thus, the *Hæreð* of *Beowulf* was a personal name derived from a tribal name; in consequence, we may be sure that the individual so named was not a member of the Norwegian tribe of that name (ON *Horðar*). See the article "Eastgota" in my edition of *Widsith* (1936), pp. 137 f.

³⁸ Klaeber seems to use the term in this sense in his 3d ed. of *Beowulf* (1936), p. ciii (but he qualifies it by the adj. "primitive"). Norman's strictures on this use of *ballad* (N 1937, p. 374, and 1938, p. 167) are probably justified.

³⁹ The villain is also left out in the sections immediately before and after. This was possible, of course, because the poet took it for granted that his hearers or readers knew the tales to which he was alluding. Norman is wrong when he says (N 1938, p. 176) that in the second section of *Deor* "the omission [of the villain] can be supplied quite naturally from what precedes [i.e., from the first section]." Nobody unacquainted with the tale would be able to guess or even suspect from the *Deor* text that the victim of the first section played

the water demon of the ballad would be a lover distressing enough to explain Mæðhild's lamentations and sleeplessness. It stands to reason that the story changed more or less in the course of the centuries, but nothing in *Deor* clashes with anything in the ballad, and a genetic relationship between the plot of the ballad and the story alluded to in *Deor* can hardly be doubted.⁴⁰

Let me end with a comment on Whitbread's criticism of me (W 1941, p. 383) for changing my views, between the years 1933 and 1936, about the difficult word *monge*. My earlier attitude here was one of doubt; in the glossary of my edition I gave two quite different meanings for this word, and after each I set a question mark. When the Scandinavian ballads came to my attention I saw the possibility of a third interpretation of *monge*, a possibility which I had not thought of before and which, even if I had thought of it, I should have had to reject for want of external support. If one may go by Whitbread's statement of the case, "sobriety" in criticism is well served by sticking to an opinion (or a doubt) through thick and thin, once it gets into print. I prefer to modify or give up old views if new evidence inconsistent with those views comes to light, and I believe that all truly "sober critics" have the same preference.

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the part of villain in the rape of Beadohild. And nobody acquainted with the tale would need the first section in order to identify the ravisher of Beadohild.

⁴⁰ The original tale as known to the *Deor* poet cannot be reconstructed, of course, for want of evidence. The *Deor* passage is an allusion, nothing more. Since Gaut was a legendary Gothic king, and since the name element *maþ* was in use among the Goths (witness *Mathasuintha* in Schönfeld's *Wörterbuch*), one may conjecture that this tale, like so much of the German store of story, was Gothic in origin. If so, its transmission down to modern times was not unlike that of the more famous tale of Swanhild. But enough of vain speculation!

THE THEOLOGICAL BASIS OF SATAN'S REBELLION
AND THE FUNCTION OF ABDIEL IN
PARADISE LOST

ALLAN H. GILBERT

IT HAS been observed by commentators that Books V and VI of *Paradise lost*, dealing with Satan's rebellion, show reminiscences of the second psalm. Yet only a few of them have been noted, and there has been no suggestion of what may be called systematic use of that psalm. The parallels that I have observed, old and new, are as follows:

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| <p>(1) Hear my Decree, which unrevok't
shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My onely Son, and on this holy Hill
Him have anointed [<i>PL</i>, Book V,
ll. 602-5].</p> | <p>Yet have I set my King upon my
holy hill of Sion.
I will declare the decree: the Lord
hath said unto mee,
Thou art my sonne, this day have
I begotten thee [Ps. 2:6-7].</p> |
|--|--|

The word "anointed" occurs in verse 2 of the English version and—more important here—in the margin of the Authorized Version of verse 6; it appears as *inungens* in the version of Tremellius and Junius,¹ which is followed by Milton in *De doctrina Christiana*, I, 5 (p. 59; Col., XIV, 184).²

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|--|--|
| <p>(2) the Son of God, that day
Honoured by his great Father, and
proclaimd
Messiah King anointed [<i>PL</i>, Book
V, ll. 662-64].³</p> | <p>[The reference to the psalm is as in
No. 1, above.]</p> |
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¹ Immanuelis Tremellius and Franciscus Iunius, *Biblia sacra* (Sancti Gervasil, 1607), p. 121.

² The figures immediately following "p." refer to the original Latin edition of the *De doctrina Christiana* (Cambridge, 1825). Figures following "Col." indicate volume and page of the Columbia University edition of Milton.

My work has been accelerated by the use of Harris Fletcher's *The use of the Bible in Milton's prose* (Urbana, 1929). I have been aided also by Kathryn Dillard's "Milton's use of the psalms," a manuscript thesis in the library of Duke University.

³ The word *messiah* means 'anointed.' Milton alludes to this meaning in *De doctrina Christiana*, I, 15 (p. 214; Col., XV, 284). *Christus* also signifies 'anointed,' as Milton explains in *Doct. Chr.*, I, 5 (p. 59; Col., XIV, 184).

- (3) Were banded to oppose his high He that sitteth in the heavens
 Decree; shall laugh [Ps. 2:4].
 And smiling to his onely Son thus
 said [*PL*, Book V, ll. 717-18].

Line 717 has no exact parallel in the text of the English version; in the margin of verse 1 appears "tumultuously assemble." Verse 2 in the Vulgate has *convenerunt in unum* and the version used by Calvin has *convenerunt* and *congregati*.

- (4) This our high place, our Sanctuarie, My holy hill of Sion [Ps. 2:6].
 our Hill [*PL*, Book V, l. 732].
- (5) Mightie Father, thou thy foes He that sitteth in the heavens
 Justly hast in derision, and secure shall laugh; the Lord shall have
 Laugh'st at thir vain designs and them in derision [Ps. 2:4].
 tumults vain [*PL*, Book V, ll. Why do the heathen rage, [margin:
 735-37]. tumultuously assemble] and the
 people imagine a vain thing?
 * * * * *
 The rulers take counsel together
 [Ps. 2:1-2].
- (6) they see all Regal Power Yet have I set my King upon my
 Giv'n me [*PL*, Book V, ll. 739-40]. holy hill [Ps. 2:6].

According to the margin, this is "anointed my King," implying appointment as king.

- (7) In imitation of that Mount where- I will declare the decree [Ps. 2:7,
 on with 6].
 Messiah was declar'd in sight of
 Heav'n [*PL*, Book V, ll. 764-65].
- (8) by Decree
 Another now hath to himself in-
 gross't
 All Power [*PL*, Book V, ll. 774-76].

This refers to the verses just quoted, with the addition of "The Lord hath said unto mee." There is emphasis on the action of the Son himself, clearer still in the Vulgate: "Ego autem constitutus sum rex" (Ps. 2:6).

- (9) the name [As in No. 1.]
Of King anointed [*PL*, Book V, ll.
776-77].
- (10) His image now proclaimed [As in Nos. 6 and 7.]
 [*PL*, Book V, l. 784].
- (11) But what if better counsels might The rulers take counsell together,
 erect against the Lord, saying,
Our minds and teach us to cast off Let us breake their bandes
this Yoke [*PL*, Book V, ll. 785- asunder, and cast away their
86]. cords from us [Ps. 2:2-3].
- In the Vulgate and in the version used by Calvin the word *jugum* is used instead of *cords*, and it also appears in the note on the verse by Tremellius and Junius.
- (12) The just Decree of God, pronounc't [As in Nos. 6 and 7.]
 and sworn,
That to his only Son by right en-
du'd
With Regal Scepter [*PL*, Book V,
ll. 814-16].
- (13) Begotten Son [*PL*, Book Thou art my sonne, this day have
V, l. 835] I begotten thee [Ps. 2:7].
- (14) Cease then this impious rage [*PL* Why do the heathen rage [Ps.
Book V, l. 845]. 2:1]?
- (15) Th' incensed Father, and th' in- Kisse the Sonne lest he be angry,
 censed Son [*PL*, Book V, l. 847]. and ye perish from the way
 when his wrath is kindled but a
 little [Ps. 2:12].
- (16) th' anointed King [*PL*, Book V, [As in No. 1.]
l. 870].
- (17) No more be troubl'd how to quit [As in No. 11.]
 the yoke
Of God's Messiah [*PL*, Book V, ll.
882-83].
- (18) Is now an Iron Rod to bruise and Thou shalt breake them with a rod
 breake of iron [Ps. 2:9].
Thy disobedience [*PL*, Book V, ll.
887-88].

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (19) | Least the wrauth
Impendent, raging into sudden
flame [<i>PL</i> , Book V, ll. 890-91]. | When his wrath is kindled but a
little [Ps. 2:12]. |
| (20) | for thir King
Messiah [<i>PL</i> , Book VI, ll. 42-43]. | [As in No. 6.] |
| (21) | the Hill [<i>PL</i> , Book VI,
l. 57]. | My holy hill of Sion [Ps. 2:6]. |
| (22) | the signe
Of wrauth awak't [<i>PL</i> , Book VI,
ll. 58-59]. | [As in No. 19.] |
| (23) | the Mount of God [<i>PL</i> , Book
VI, l. 88]. | [As in No. 21.] |
| (24) | Yet Chains in Hell [<i>PL</i> , Book VI,
l. 186]. | Let us break their bands asunder,
and cast away their cords from
us [Ps. 2:3]. |

The word *vincula* appears in the Vulgate and in Calvin's text. This line is to be thought an echo of the psalm, if at all, only by a sort of contrast. Satan has said that he will reject the chains of the Lord, but in truth he will gain only chains in hell. The same may be said of the "chains" of line 260.

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|------|--|--|
| (25) | as shall dash
To pieces [<i>PL</i> , Book VI, ll. 488-
89]. | Thou shalt dash them in pieces
like a potters vessel [Ps. 2:9.] |
|------|--|--|

This may be objected to because Satan is speaking; possibly he is arrogating to himself the Almighty's language as well as the bolt of which he will appear to have disarmed the Thunderer.

- | | | |
|------|---|----------------|
| (26) | To honour his Anointed Son aveng'd
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All power on him transferr'd [<i>PL</i> ,
Book VI, ll. 676-78]. | [As in No. 1.] |
| (27) | disorder'd rage [<i>PL</i> , Book VI,
l. 696]. | [As in No. 5.] |
| (28) | to be Heir and to be King
By Sacred Unction [<i>PL</i> , Book
VI, ll. 708-9]. | [As in No. 1.] |

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(29) against mee is all thir rage [<i>PL</i>,
Book VI, l. 813].</p> | <p>Why do the heathen rage . . .
 against his Anoynted [Ps. 2:
 1-2].</p> |
| <p>(30) So spake the Son, and into terrour
 chang'd
His count'nance too severe to be
 beheld
And full of wrauth bent on his Ene-
 mies [<i>PL</i>, Book VI, ll. 824-26].</p> | <p>Lest he be angry, and ye perish
 from the way, when his wrath is
 kindled but a little [Ps. 2:12].</p> |

Even though some of these parallels be rejected, it is still evident that, beginning with the decree of the Father, the situation is in harmony with the psalm. The Son is set up as anointed King; there is rage and plotting against his authority; in his anger he inflicts severe punishment on his opponents. Whatever be true of any of the subsequent passages, there can be no doubt that Milton intended the decree of the Lord to be recognized as a quotation from the psalm, and as such to set the key of the following incidents.

To turn to the *Christian doctrine* is to enforce this belief. While the second psalm is not cited more often than some of the others, yet for its length it has a considerable number of references, and all but one of the verses mentioned appear more than once. Moreover, the importance given to it is greater than might be inferred from the mere number of citations. Verse 7 is the only proof passage from the Old Testament on the subject of the special decree of God on the Son, whereby the relationship of Father especially appears (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 3 [p. 29; Col., XIV, 88]). Verse 7 also refers not to the eternal generation of the Son but to his metaphorical generation merely, namely, his resurrection or anointing to the office of the mediator, as is said by Paul in Acts 13:32-33. When connected with Heb. 1:5, it refers to the exaltation of the Son above the angels, on being anointed as King (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 5 [p. 59; Col., XIV, 180]).

In this way are obviously to be understood the words of the Father in *Paradise lost*:

This day I have begot whom I declare
My onely Son [Book V, ll. 603-4].

Immediately continuing in the *Christian doctrine*, Milton explains that the various passages he cites, "especially when brought into connec-

tion with the whole Second Psalm," show that, not by necessity of nature but by the decree and will of the Father, the Son was not only begotten but made priest and king and raised from the dead.⁴ The importance of these ideas to Milton's personal theology and to that of the age is such as to give great prominence to a passage bearing directly on it. At the end of this same fifth chapter of the *De doctrina Christiana*, the second psalm is the more important of the two passages from the Old Testament that show the inferiority of the Son to the Father: "This is very obvious in the Second Psalm, where God the Father himself is brought in to declare openly the nature and office of his Son."⁵ This fifth chapter of the first book of the *Christian doctrine* is the longest in the work and, if one considers Milton's unorthodox beliefs as to the Son, perhaps the most important.

Other references follow. The psalm indicates his names as Messiah and Christ (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 15 [p. 214; Col., XV, 284]). He is made king by God the Father and given kingly power over the church and his enemies (*ibid.* [p. 218; Col., XV, 296]); the latter he will conquer and debel at his second coming (*ibid.* [p. 219; Col., XV, 300]).

Such application of the second psalm to Christ is quite in accord with all the thought of Milton's day. For example, the Authorized Version gives as the subject of the first nine verses "The kingdom of Christ." The matter is clearly stated by William Ames, in his *Lectioes in CL psalmos Davidis*, first published in 1635. It seems likely that this work was known to Milton, who mentions "Amesius noster" in *Christian doctrine*, II, 7 (p. 447; Col., XVII, 172). At least it appears to be representative. He writes as follows:

⁴ The second psalm and various related passages mentioned in this paper appear also in *PL*, Book III, ll. 275-343; for example:

"Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shall Reigne
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
Anointed universal King; all Power
I give thee, reign for ever, and assume
Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supream
Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:
All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
In heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell."

The passages in Book V are not to be taken as merely repetition of this. They refer to the exaltation of the Son above the angels, as king. Book III refers to the mediatorial or priestly function of Christ. It appears from the passage in the *Christian doctrine* that the psalm had both meanings.

⁵ *Doct. Chr.*, I, 5 (p. 107; Col., XIV, 348).

Psalmi hujus secundi triplicem interpretationem videre est apud autores.
 1. Est Judaeorum, qui totum Psalmum simpliciter intelligunt de Davide.
 2. Est omnium fere Patrum qui simpliciter explicant de Christo. 3. Est doctissimorum nostrorum Theologorum, qui composita quadam ratione, partim quidem de Davide interpretantur, sed maxime proprie ac praecipue de Christo. . . .

De Davide simpliciter non posse hunc Psalmum explicari, ex eo patet, quod quaedam continet quae Davidi non conveniunt: qualia sunt illa quae *vers.* 8 & 12. neque debere constat nobis ex Apostolorum testimonio *Act.* 4.25 & 13.33. *Hebr.* 1.5 & 5.5.

De Christo simpliciter ut explicetur exclusa plane omni Davidis consideratione, nulla ratio cogit: quia David non tantum verbis, sed factis etiam & vitae ac muneris sui ratione praesignificabit illa quae spectant ad Christum.

Composita interpretandi ratio est maxime probanda; ita ut quae hic dicuntur vera quidem sint maxima ex parte de Davide, sed integrum aut perfectum sensum non habere, nisi praecipue refereantur ad Christum Jesum.⁶

Various parts of Ames's explanation would have been acceptable to Milton, such as that *hodie* (rendered 'this day'), in verse 7, refers to a time of "demonstrationis, patefactionis, aut declarationis, non primae generationis," because the declaration of the Father is in time. Ames however, holds for eternal generation, which Milton rejects.⁷

Calvin, in his commentary on the psalm, also indicates that the seventh verse refers not to the actual beginning of the Son but "ut talis patefieret mundo."⁸ The holy spirit, through the psalmist, is referring to "solenne et legitimum manifestationis tempus." In general, he could have been more suggestive to Milton than could Ames. He refers to the enemies of Christ as rebels and speaks of the wicked as carrying on war against God.

Nor was the interpretation of this psalm as showing Christ the newly anointed king triumphing over his enemies confined to Protestants. The commentary of Cardinal Bellarmine is to the same effect: "Est autem totus hic Psalmus Prophetia de Regno Christi manifestissima."⁹ There are even slight similarities with Milton, as when, in *Paradise lost* (Book V, ll. 711-18), he explains that God sitting in the

⁶ (Amsterdam, 1658), pp. 18, 19.

⁷ *Doct. Chr.*, I, 5 (pp. 58-62; Col., XIV, 178-90).

⁸ *Joannis Calvini Opera* (Brunsvigae, 1887), XXXI, 47.

⁹ R. Bellarmine, "Explanatio in psalmos" in A. Lapidè's *Commentarii* (Paris, 1870), VII, p. 4 of Appen.

heavens is, above all, able to discern all things and easily to dissolve all the plans of his enemies and dissipate their undertakings. He also refers to the enemies as impious and rebels (vs. 12).

Milton's presentation is, then, in harmony with the general beliefs of his age. In one respect, however, he has done something not contemplated by any of the expositors of the second psalm I have encountered, though naturally enough developed from their explanations. They make the enemies of the Father and Son the wicked of this earth, while Milton transfers the entire psalm to the conflict with Satan in heaven. Nor was there anything to forbid this in the allegorical and symbolic interpretations current. The commentators, for example, do not insist that the declaration of the Son's kingship must have been at a certain known time and no other but suggest more than one explanation. Milton has but carried their process on by suggesting another possible time for the public declaration of the Messiah.¹⁰ Such a transfer from earth to heaven was in the spirit of his poem, for

what if Earth
Be but the shadow of Heav'n, and things therein
Each to other like, more then on earth is thought
[PL, Book V, ll. 574-76]?

A curious external support for Milton's action is found in Revelation, chapter 12, telling of the war in heaven. Here we read of the woman clothed with the sun who "brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of yron." On this we read in Paraeus,¹¹ Milton's commentator on the Apocalypse:

Parit mulier: nascitur masculus: impetitur a Dracone, sed eripitur ad thronum Dei: Sic praeda frustratur Draco. Totus hic typus Christo literaliter applicari potest. In capite enim sors membrorum repraesentatur.

Nascitur Masculus sexu, robore, virtute: quia Deus fortis. Etiam Christi proprium attributum sequens.

¹⁰ For a different but confirmatory treatment of the begetting of the Son see Maurice Kelley, "Milton's use of 'begot' in *Paradise lost*, V, 603," *SP*, XXXVIII (1941), 252-65, and the same author's *This great argument* (Princeton, 1941), pp. 84-106. The present article was accepted for publication before the appearance of Mr. Kelley's studies.

It has been observed that begetting signifies the mediatorial function of Christ. This function is divided into three parts, one of which is prophetic, and "Christus propheticum munus suum ab initio statim mundi obibat, ad finem etiam mundi obiturus" (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 15 [p. 216; Col., XV, 290]).

¹¹ Albert S. Cook, "Milton's view of the Apocalypse as a tragedy," *Archiv*, CXXIX (1912), 74-80.

Pascet omnes gentes virga ferrea Ex Psal. 2. Ipse enim pastor omnium gentium a Patre est designatus, pascens eas virga ferrea, hoc est, sceptro potentissimo (ferrum enim fragile non est) sed diversimode: . . . alias eodem minuendo tanquam vas figuli, & mittendo in ignem inferni, ut haedos: Christus igitur rictum Draconis nihil formidat: quia masculus est: nihil Draconis diademata curat, nihil cornua metuit: quia verga ferrea contundit omnia.¹²

In his comment on the seventh verse, Paraeus remarks that the "war in heaven" can be interpreted as the first fall of the devil, when Lucifer with his angels was thrown out of heaven. It is possible also to interpret Michael, the victor over Satan, as Christ. Here at least is a suggestion that certain words of the second psalm apply directly to Satan's revolt.¹³

The changed application was also made the easier by the use of the second psalm in the first chapter of Hebrews, where also there is much reference to the angels and to the superiority of the Son to them. In fact, this chapter, in addition to the words duplicated, is also apparent in the narrative of Satan's rebellion, as in the following:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your Head I
him appoint [<i>PL</i>, Book V, ll.
605-6].</p> | <p>Whom he hath appointed heir of
all things. . . . Sate down on
the right hand of the Majestie
on high [Heb. 1:2-3].</p> <p>Sit on my right hand [Heb. 1:13].</p> |
| <p>(2) [Satan resolved to] leave
Unworshipt, unbey'd the Throne
supream [<i>PL</i>, Book V, ll. 669-
70].</p> | <p>Let all the Angels of God worship
him [Heb. 1:6].</p> |
| <p>(3) Son, thou in whom my glory I be-
hold
In full resplendence, Heir of all my
might [<i>PL</i>, Book V, ll. 719-20].</p> | <p>His Sonne, whom he hath appoint-
ed heire of all things, . . .
Who being the brightnesse of his
glory, and the expresse image of
his person [Heb. 1:2-3].</p> |
| <p>(4) his image now proclaim'd [<i>PL</i>,
Book V, l. 784].</p> | <p>[As in No. 3.]</p> |

¹² David Paraeus, *Opera theologica* (Francofurti, 1647), p. 726, on chap. 12, vs. 5.

¹³ Two other passages in Revelation, namely, 2:27 and 19:15, also echo Ps. 2:9; the second may be thought to give some support to chap. 12, in suggesting transference of the second psalm from earth to heaven. In *Doct. Chr.*, I, 9 (p. 157, Col., XV, 105) Milton refuses to identify Christ with Michael.

- (5) his only Son by right endu'd He hath by inheritance obtained a
With Regal Scepter [*PL*, Book V, more excellent Name then they
ll. 815-16]. [Heb. 1:4].
- (6) begotten Son, by whom His Sonne, . . . by whom also he
As by his Word the mighty Father made the worlds, . . . uphold-
made ing all things by the word of his
All things [*PL*, Book V, ll. 835-37]. power, . . . And thou Lord in
the beginning hast layed the
foundation of the earth: and
the heavens are the works of
thine hands [Heb. 1:2-3 and 10].
- (7) the work [As in No. 6.]
Of secundarie hands, by task trans-
ferd
From Father to his Son [*PL*, Book
V, ll. 853-55].
- (8) Ministring Spirits [*PL*, Book VI, Are they not all ministring spirits
l. 167] [Heb. 1:14].
our ministring [*ibid.*, l. 182].
- (9) to his Son [As in No. 1.]
Th' Assessor of his Throne [*PL*,
Book VI, ll. 678-79].
- (10) Effulgence of my Glorie, Son be- [As in No. 3.]
lov'd,
Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by Deitie I am [*PL*,
Book VI, ll. 680-82].
- (11) Heir [As in Nos. 3 and 5.]
Of all things, to be Heir and to be
King
By Sacred Unction, thy deserved
right [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 707-9].
- (12) Scepter and Power, thy giving, I A scepter of righteousness is the
assume [*PL*, Book VI, l. 730]. scepter of thy kingdome [Heb.
1:8].
- (13) he o're his Scepter bowing, [As in Nos. 12 and 1.]
rose
From the right hand of Glorie
where he sate [*PL*, Book VI, ll.
746-47].

- (14) Before him Power Divine his way Upholding all things by the word
 prepar'd; of his power [Heb. 1:3].
 At his command the uprooted Hills
 retir'd
 Each to his place, they heard his
 voice and went
 Obsequious [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 780-
 83].
- (15) Son, Heir, and Lord, to him Do- [As in Nos. 3 and 5.]
 minion giv'n [*PL*, Book VI, l.
 887].
- (16) now he sits at the right hand [As in No. 1.]
 of bliss [*PL*, Book VI, l. 892].

It is apparent that ideas and words to be found in the first chapter of Hebrews run throughout the account of Satan's rebellion.¹⁴

That most of these passages were to Milton of theological importance is evident from the *Christian doctrine*, in which every verse of the first chapter of Hebrews, except the thirteenth, is cited, some of them several times. They occur chiefly in the chapters dealing with the Son, the creation, and God's government of the world and of the angels and are employed in much the same way as the passages from the second psalm. Christ is the creator, sits at the right hand of God, is higher than the angels, and deserves from them divine honor.

For such use of Hebrews there was plenty of precedent. Milton had probably read, for example, the commentary of Paraeus on Hebrews. At least he cites the commentary of that author on Revelation in the introductory note to *Samson agonistes* and mentions him in various of his prose writings. In some matters Milton is far from the commentator, for Paraeus holds for the eternity of the Son, which Milton denied. But Milton was accustomed to reading commentaries from parts of which he dissented or was to dissent. A great part of Paraeus' comment would have been acceptable to Milton at any time. The Son is the "imago substantialis patris" and the creator by whom all things, including the angels, were made. He is the "caput & Dominus angelorum," who are his ministers and adore him. He alone can sit at the right hand of God as governing all things with the Father.

¹⁴ But note the gap in Book VI from ll. 167 to 678. On this see pp. 34 and 42 below.

Of Calvin's comment on Hebrews much the same thing may be said. He is even stronger than Paraeus on the subjection of the angels to Christ, writing on Heb. 1:6: "Nunc alia ratione Christum supra angelos attolit: quia iubeantur angeli ipsum adorare. Sequitur enim, ipsorum esse caput ac principem. . . . Minime dubium quin de angelis loquatur propheta: quia sensus est, nullam esse tam sublimem potentiam quae non subiici debeat huius regis imperio, cuius adventus totum orbem exhilarare debet." It is evident, then, that Milton, in adding the first chapter of Hebrews to the second psalm to give the theological basis of Satan's revolt, was in his interpretation of the Bible following widely accepted opinion.

Yet the narrative as distinguished from the theological treatment of Satan's rebellion has little apparent relation to the psalm and connected passages in Hebrews and elsewhere. The part taken by Abdiel has especially been a puzzle to students.¹⁵ Nothing appears to be known except that the name occurs in I Chron. 5:15 as that of a man and that it means Servant of God. However, Abdiel's function in the poem may be discussed in relation to the theological and biblical basis of the book as already in part presented.

When Satan set forth his plans for revolt, Abdiel,

then whom none with more zeale ador'd

The Deitie, and divine commands obei'd [*PL*, Book V, ll. 805-6],

rose "in a flame of zeale severe" to oppose "the current of his fury." His first words accuse Satan of blasphemy. This suggests the commentary of William Ames, who gives as the "uses" of this psalm that it is valuable for refuting the "blasphemies haereticorum" and that it is an admonition to all to beware lest they oppose themselves to Christ (p. 45). Ames, however, would have considered Milton's rejection of the eternal generation of Christ as blasphemy.

It is still more important to observe that the words of Abdiel in *Paradise lost*, Book V, ll. 809-48 abound with references to Psalm 2 and to Hebrews 1, as appears on pages 21 and 28 above, and that they conform with Milton's beliefs as expressed in *De doctrina Christiana*.

The "just Decree of God" (l. 814) is in accord with *De doctrina*

¹⁵ See Grant McColley, "Macbeth and *Paradise lost*," in *Shakespeare Association bulletin*, XIII (1938), 146.

Christiana, I, 3: "Decretum Dei speciale omnium primum ac praestantissimum est de Filio suo" (p. 29; Col., XIV, 88). Milton supports this with Ps. 2:7 and Heb. 1:5.

"Regal scepter" (l. 816) depends on: "Quin et genuisse Deus, id est, regem creasse Filium ex Psalmo secundo intelligetur" (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 5 [p. 59; Col., XIV, 184]). In this context Heb. 1:5 also appears, and Col. 1:16 on Christ as the creator.

Abdiel declares that the angels

Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
 Confess him rightful King [Book V, ll. 817-18],

and the *Christian doctrine*, I, 5, claims for Christ “honorem divinum” (p. 101; Col., XIV, 330), referring to Phil. 2:10: “That at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven.” This is supported by twice quoting John 5:23: “That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father.” Phil. 2:10 is again cited in the *Christian doctrine*, I, 7 (p. 127; Col., XV, 12), where Milton is arguing for Christ as the judge appointed by the Father; here he quotes also from Rom. 14:11: “Every knee shall bow to me.” To prove that the angels adore Christ (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 9 [p. 155; Col., XV, 98]), Milton again uses Phil. 2:10, supporting it with I Pet. 3:22: “Angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject unto him.”

Abdiel asks:

Shalt thou give Law to God, . . .
who made
Thee what thou art [Book V, ll. 822-24]?

Such an idea is found in the *Christian doctrine* (I, 4 [p. 48; Col., XIV, 146]), where Milton is showing that God may act according to his arbitrary will, without giving a reason, as is indicated by Rom. 9:20: "O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why has thou made me thus?" In the same chapter (p. 52; Col., XIV, 164) he again recurs to this verse, as proof that God acts justly in hardening the hearts of sinners.

A few lines farther on, and also still later, Abdiel refers to Christ as the "head" (ll. 830, 842), as though from Col. 1:18: "Hee is the head of the body." This verse appears five times in *De doctrina Christiana*, though this part of it is not always quoted; in the chapter on the Son

of God, it is used to show that he is *primogenitus* (pp. 59, 61; Col., XIV, 182, 190), along with Psalm 2 and Hebrews 1. Once the part relating to the head is quoted (I, 15 [p. 219; Col., XV, 296]), with Ps. 2:6. Eph. 4:15 also refers to Christ as head and is quoted three times in the *De doctrina Christiana*, namely, I, 21 (p. 264; Col., XVI, 16); I, 24 (p. 281; Col., XVI, 60); II, 11 (p. 483; Col., XVII, 270). In each of these the word *caput* appears, but none of the passages apply directly to the matter of Abdiel's speech.

In reply to Satan's assertion of equality, Abdiel asks:

Thy self . . . dost thou count,
Or all the Angelic Nature joind in one,
Equal to him begotten Son [Book V, ll. 833-35]?

This is disproved by *De doctrina Christiana*, I, 9, where we read that the angels adore Christ and that they are "sub Christo tanquam sub capite" (p. 155; Col., XV, 100). Proof is furnished by Heb. 1:6, Phil. 2:10, and I Pet. 3:22: "Angels, and authorities, and powers being made subject unto him."

This power is due to Christ as "begotten Son" (l. 835). The *generatio* of the Son is the first heading discussed in the *Christian doctrine*, I, 5, the long chapter on the Son. Here are quoted Ps. 2:7: "This day have I begotten thee," and other passages, in which *primogenitus* and similar words are applied to Christ, as Heb. 1:6; Col. 1:15, 18; John 1:14, 3:16, 5:18; Rom. 8:29.

The rank of Christ is especially proved by his creative function because by him

As by his Word the mighty Father made
All things [Book V, ll. 836-37].

This is developed at length in the *De doctrina Christiana*. I Cor. 8:6 is quoted to show that Christ is the one *per quem omnia* (I, 5 [pp. 65-66, 99; Col., XIV, 202]) where *per* seems to equal Abdiel's "by." In chapter vii, "De creatione," Milton explains that "Creatio est qua Deus Pater Verbo et Spiritu suo . . . quicquid est rerum produxit" and that "est enim Pater non solum a quo, sed etiam ex quo, in quem, per quem, et propter quem sunt omnia, . . . ut qui omnes causas inferiores in se complectatur: Filius duntaxat est per quem omnia:

causa igitur minus principalis" (pp. 124-25; Col., XV, 4 and 8).¹⁶ Here appears again I Cor. 8:6, and there are quoted also John 1:3, Heb. 1:2, and Eph. 3:9: "God, who created all things by Jesus Christ." In Milton's Latin this runs *per Jesum Christum*. Most attention is given to Col. 1:16: "Per eum condita sunt omnia."

From this verse comes also what Abdiel adds, namely, that the Father

all the Spirits of Heav'n
By him created in thir bright degrees,
Crownd them with Glory, and to thir Glory nam'd
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers
[PL, Book V, ll. 838-40].

The entire verse is: "By him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him and for him." It is employed in the *Christian doctrine*, along with Heb. 1:7, to assist in proving that the angels were created and that they are distinguished among themselves by their offices and grades (pp. 133-34; Col., XV, 32, 34, 36). Col. 1:16 is also employed in other contexts to show the creative power of the Son.¹⁷

Abdiel's exhortation that Satan cease his "impious rage" (l. 845) goes back to Ps. 2:1: "Why do the heathen rage?" "Incensed" (l. 847) is apparently an echo of Ps. 2:12: "Lest he be angry . . . his wrath is kindled."

The next speech of Abdiel, as has already been shown,¹⁸ is somewhat dependent on Psalm 2. The "Iron Rod" (l. 887), taken from verse 9, appears in *De doctrina Christiana*, I, 15, where we read that Christ "Hostes vincit atque debellat" (p. 219; Col., XV, 300). The same verse is also applied to the power of Christ at his second advent (*Doct. Chr.*, I, 33 [p. 380; Col., XVI, 360]). Certain other passages also appear. Abdiel begins:

O alienate from God, O spirit accurst,
Forsak'n of all good [PL, Book V, ll. 877-78].

¹⁶ In *Ars logica*, I, 4. Milton explains that the cause *minus principalis* is *adjuvans et ministra*, a servant cause. He uses there also the expression *causa instrumentalis*, applied to the Son in this context in the *Doct. Chr.*

¹⁷ *Doct. Chr.*, I, 5 (pp. 59, 94, 95; Col., XIV, 182, 306, 308); I, 7 (pp. 125-26; Col., XV, 6, 8, 10).

¹⁸ Pp. 21-22 above.

This presumably echoes Eph. 4:18: "Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them." In the *De doctrina Christiana*, the statement that one of the punishments of sin is spiritual death and that this death consists "in privatione vel saltem magna obscuracione rectae rationis ad summum bonum percipiendum, quae vitae instar intellectui erat" (I, 12 [p. 189; Col., XV, 206]) is supported by this verse.

The seraph's determination to flee the "wicked Tents devoted" (I. 889) of Satan echoes Ps. 84:10: "I had rather be a doore keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickednesse." Even closer is Num. 16:26, the advice of Moses that the people abandon Korah, Dathan, and Abiram: "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, . . . lest ye be consumed in all their sins."

When Abdiel meets Satan in battle, his speeches are less immediately biblical, as perhaps is suited to the Homeric context. Yet he asserts the omnipotence of God (*PL*, Book VI, l. 136), one of the qualities assigned in the *Christian doctrine* to the Father (I, 2 [pp. 16-17; Col., XIV, 46, 48]) and to the Son (I, 5 [p. 98; Col., XIV, 318]). In the latter passage Milton quotes Phil. 3:21: "He is able even to subdue all things unto himself." Abdiel's assertion of the divine power to raise "incessant armies" is an expansion of this. Abdiel also declares his attachment to faith, to which Milton devoted an entire chapter of the *Christian doctrine*.¹⁹ His final words to Satan (VI, 172-88) are but slightly biblical. He refutes Satan's reference to ministering spirits, derived from Heb. 1:14, which Milton cites in *De doctrina Christiana*, I, 9 (p. 155; Col., XV, 100) to prove that "Ministerium eorum praecipuum circa fideles est" and in a later chapter (I, 23 [p. 278; Col., XVI, 54]) for much the same purpose. Abdiel's threat of "Chains in Hell" rests on II Pet. 2:4: "God spared not the Angels that sinned, but cast them downe to hell, and delivered them into chaines of darkness." To the same effect is Jude 6: "The Angels which kept not their first estate, . . . he hath reserved in everlasting chaines under darknesse."²⁰ Both verses are quoted in Milton's chapter on the angels, to

¹⁹ Book I, chap. 20; cf. also Book II, chap. 3.

²⁰ With "darknesse" in this and the preceding quotation cf. Abdiel's use of the word in Book VI, l. 142.

prove that "Angeli mali ad poenam reservati sunt" (I, 9 [p. 157; Col., XV, 106]).

This analysis makes clear how Milton regarded the speeches of Abdiel, especially those in Book V. They echo the words of the Scriptures, which are the rule of truth: "De me, libris tantummodo sacris adhaerescō" (*Doct. Chr.*, pref.). And, in addition, they express the ideas of *De doctrina Christiana*, of which Milton says: "Quibus melius aut pretiosius nihil habeo." Poetry or not, these words of Abdiel can be nothing other than the convictions of John Milton, at least at the time when he wrote the *Christian doctrine*.

This applies less to his speeches in Book VI, in proportion as they are less biblical and savor less of the *Christian doctrine*. In the sixth book, Abdiel first appears in soliloquy, reflecting that Satan's reason is "unsound and false" (l. 121) and that he himself has spoken truth. This is the affirmation of Milton, who intended his *Christian doctrine*, as he says in the preface, to be "fidei ratio"; in his view the work is founded on reason, and reason of the strictest and firmest sort, such as he dealt with in his *Ars logica*. Abdiel has been the good logician, as Satan has been the bad one, resting his argument on false premises, while the angel has had the sure foundation of Scripture. This is the testimony of God himself; Satan and his followers, Abdiel is told,

reason for thir Law refuse,
Right reason for thir Law, and for thir King
Messiah, who by right of merit Reigns [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 41-43].

This reason is, as Milton tells us in the *Areopagitica*, "the image of God."²¹

In this soliloquy, too, appears Milton's view of warfare. If for Abdiel it is "brutish and foule," for Jesus in *Paradise regained* the conquerors are

Rowling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
Violent or shameful death thir due reward
[Book III, ll. 86-87].

Milton's prose statements are less extreme. He deals with the theme in commenting on the assertion in *Eikon basilike* that "I [i.e., King

²¹ Columbia ed., p. 298. For a recent study of reason in Milton's poetry see Clarence C. Green, "The paradox of the Fall in *Paradise lost*," in *MLN*, LIII (1938), 557-71.

Charles] look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men." Milton is willing to admit that some warfare, but not all, is brutish: the bestial man is bestial even when using fraud rather than force:

If the way of Treaties be look'd upon in general, as a retiring from bestial force to human reason, his first Aphorism heer is in part deceav'd. For men may Treat like Beasts as well as fight. If som fighting were not manlike, then either fortitude were no vertue, or no fortitude in fighting: And as Politicians oftentimes through dilatory purposes, and emulations handle the matter, there hath bin no where found more bestialitie then in treating: which hath no more commendation in it then from fighting to come to undermining, from violence to craft, and when they can no longer doe as Lions, to doe as Foxes [*Eikonoklastes*, chap. xviii].

However bestial the warfare of Rupert or Satan, in Milton's eyes, that of Abdiel and Cromwell is full of virtue.

Abdiel closes his first speech of defiance to Satan with the words: "Few sometimes may know, when thousands err" (l. 148). This sentiment is harmonious with Milton's "fit audience find, though few" (*PL*, Book VII, l. 31) and represents the opinion he held when, in 1660, he wrote that, whatever the vicissitudes of parliament,

The best affected also and best principl'd of the people, stood not numbring or computing on which side were most voices in Parliament, but on which side appeerd to them most reason, most safetie, when the house divided upon main matters. . . . They were not to learn that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a Parliament as well as of a citie; whereof in matters of neerest concernment all men will be judges; nor easily permitt, that the odds of voices in thir greatest council, shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes, then the odds of enemies by open assaults; judging that most voices ought not alwaies to prevail where main matters are in question; if others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels, what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only so judging, but a great though not the greatest, number of thir chosen Patriots, who might be more in waight, then the others in number; there being in number little vertue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things.²²

Abdiel's last speech is also full of Miltonic doctrine:

Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
Of Servitude to serve whom God ordains,

²² *The readie and easie way to establish a free commonwealth* (Columbia ed.), VI, 114-15.

Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excells
Them whom he governs.²³

This was to Milton so clear that he was even willing to make it the basis of an exception to the biblical and natural rule that women should be subject to their husbands, writing: "Not but that particular exceptions may have place, if she exceed her husband in prudence and dexterity, and he contentedly yeeld, for then a superior and more naturall law comes in, that the wiser should govern the lesse wise, whether male or female" (*Tetrachordon*, Gen. 1:27 [Col., IV, 76, 77]). In this way Milton explains the origin of government among free men:

Autoritie and power of self-defence and preservation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all, for ease, for order, and least each man should be his own partial Judge, they communicated and deriv'd either to one, whom for the eminence of his wisdom and integritie they chose above the rest, or to more then one whom they thought of equal deserving: the first was call'd a King; the other Magistrates. Not to be thir Lords and Maisters (though afterward those names in som places were giv'n voluntarily to such as had been Authors of inestimable good to the people) but, to be thir Deputies and Commissioners, to execute, by vertue of thir intrusted power, that justice which else every man by the bond of nature and of Cov'nant must have executed for himself, and for one another. And to him that shall consider well why among free Persons, one man by civil right should beare authority and jurisdiction over another, no other end or reason can be imaginable.²⁴

If such is Milton's opinion on earthly government, how much more on the rule of the Allwise Creator! For the time being, however, Abdiel argues in earthly terms. If the free man can serve the true king, he cannot retain freedom under a tyrant who does not wisely regard his people's good, but cherishes only his personal ambition, as did Satan.

This is servitude,
To serve th' unwise [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 178-79].

²³ *PL*, Book VI, ll. 174-78. Cf. Jonson, *Sejanus*, I, 407-9:

"Men are deceiv'd, who thinke there can be thrall
Beneath a vertuous prince. Wish'd liberty
Ne're lovlier lookes, then under such a crowne."

²⁴ *The tenure of kings and magistrates* (Columbia ed.), V, 8, 9. Cf. "Nihil ease in societate hominum magis vel Deo gratum, vel rationi consentaneum, esse in civitate nihil aequius nihil utilius, quam potiri rerum dignissimum" (*Defensio secunda* [Columbia ed.], VIII, 222 [part of the address to Cromwell]).

In similar tone Milton wrote: "The right of birth or succession can be no privilege in nature to let a Tyrant sit irremovable over a Nation free born, without transforming that Nation from the nature and condition of men born free, into natural, hereditary, and successive slaves" (*Tenure of kings*, V, 46).

Abdiel objects to Satan that he is unfit to rule: "Thy self not free, but to thy self enthrall'd" (l. 181). Jesus explains this more fully in *Paradise regained*:

He who reins within himself, and rules
Passions, Desires, and Fears, is more a King;
Which every wise and vertuous man attains;
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or head-strong Multitudes,
Subject himself to Anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him which he serves

[Book II, ll. 466-72].

Such a ruler can sustain his position over only the bodies of men "and oft by force." Satan is not "governed by reason" but is under the tyranny of the "blind affections," like the men of whom Milton speaks at the beginning of *The tenure of kings and magistrates*. Abdiel declares that he will serve God as worthy to be obeyed, as Milton wished to serve a God of goodness and wisdom.

It is apparent that Abdiel, not merely when he quotes the second psalm, Hebrews 1, and other passages of Scripture that fit with them, but also when he goes beyond the letter of the Bible, is still expressing opinions Milton cherished.²⁵ Moreover, Abdiel, in his combination of clear-sightedness, courage, and ability to accomplish, is such a person as we must suppose Milton admired. The feeling is not unlike that with which Cromwell and the other parliamentary heroes are presented in the *Defensio secunda*. Though not single against multitudes, they at least maintained a righteous cause against difficulties. The situation of Abdiel is one in which Milton would have liked to think he would have acquitted himself well. Some suggestion of it appears in his account of his travels in Italy:

²⁵ Many passages from other poems and prose works could be added to those I have quoted. Probably little would be gained by pointing out the dates of these opinions; they seem generally characteristic.

As I was about to return to Rome, the merchants gave me an intimation, that they had learnt from their letters, that, in case of my revisiting Rome, the English Jesuits had laid a plot for me, because I had spoken too freely on the subject of religion: for I had laid it down as a rule for myself, never to begin a conversation on religion in those parts; but if interrogated concerning my faith, whatever might be the consequence, to dissemble nothing. I therefore returned notwithstanding to Rome; I concealed from no one, who asked the question, what I was; if any one attacked me, I defended in the most open manner, as before, the orthodox faith, for nearly two months more, in the city even of the sovereign pontiff himself [*Defensio secunda*, Col., VIII, 125].

Hiram Corson, an ardent admirer of Milton for his artistic power and his love of liberty, has even suggested the direct application to the poet himself of the Father's address to Abdiel; on the page immediately following the title of his *Introduction to Milton*, he gives Tennyson's "O mighty-mouthed inventor of harmonies." And with it appears:

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintaind
Against revolted multitudes the Cause
Of Truth, in word mightier than they in Armes;
And for the testimonie of Truth has born
Universal reproach, far worse to beare
Then violence: for this was all thy care
To stand approv'd in sight of God, though Worlds
Judg'd thee perverse [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 29-37].

Professor Corson's view of Milton is more romantic than that now fashionable, but at least the poet felt strong personal approval for Abdiel when he wrote these lines in assertion of the seraph's argument as true and his conduct as heroic.

Having noted Milton's sympathy with Abdiel, we may now observe the structural relation of his story to a portion of the poem presenting as an important part of its theme the greatness of the only begotten Son. Highly dramatic as it is, and giving the end of the fifth book its quality of sparkling vigor, the narrative is not one that would come normally to a poet of the war in heaven. There was, so far as has appeared, no earlier story to suggest such an appearance of Abdiel or any similar character. In fact, part of the force of the seraph's conduct lies in its initial improbability. A large number of angels might have refused to follow Satan, but one is not likely to have done so; only if

Milton can give such extraordinary height to Abdiel's character as to make the unusual appear likely can the angel's act appear probable and destined for success. If the story of Abdiel had been omitted, the quality of the poem would be lower, but the plot would not appear in any sense lacking. His action changes the course of events in no way. He does not influence any of Satan's followers; even his intention, expressed in the next book, of giving warning to the Almighty, is anticipated by the divine wisdom. This Aristotelian episode, not indispensable, but perfectly fitting, has been devised and inserted by Milton because it expresses important ideas and yet is highly dramatic. Seldom have the bodily and the intellectual been more united in epic.

Abdiel in the sixth book still utters Milton's ideas and is still dramatic, but his action is less integrated than in the preceding book. Even one of the joints in Milton's construction is apparent.²⁶ When in the course of the conflict Satan and Michael approach each other, we hear that Satan

that day
Prodigious power had shewn, and met in Armes
No equal [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 246-48].

After Satan is wounded, he is laid in his chariot

Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humb'l'd by such rebuke, so farr beneath
His confidence to equal God in Power
[*PL*, Book VI, ll. 340-43].

The impression is as though Satan had not already encountered with Abdiel and fared so badly in the conflict that

Amazement seis'd
The Rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
Thus foil'd thir mightiest [*PL*, Book VI, ll. 198-200].

Is the conflict with Abdiel a late addition to which the combat with Michael, already in the poem, was not quite readjusted? If it is an afterthought, it must have appeared to Milton so important as to demand insertion.

²⁶ See the comment by Bishop Newton on *PL*, Book VI, l. 247, in his edition of *PL* (London, 1770).

Any such importance was in Milton's own mind rather than in the demands of established narrative, for Abdiel is unknown to students save in the poetry of Milton. It may be that some persistent and fortunate seeker will still find a seraph with a name meaning Servant of God, suitable to one especially faithful among the ministering spirits who

at his bidding speed

And post o're Land and Ocean without rest [*Sonnet 19*];

but whether Milton "invented" him in some book on angels or created him for his purpose is of little moment. He is at the most an obscure angel to whom Milton has given a brief but impressive part in his work. Something was needed to make more striking than Milton had yet succeeded in doing the function of the Son as Lord of creation. The prophetic psalmist and the apostle to the Hebrews had furnished weighty, familiar, and poetic statement of theological truth. But, however reiterated, the words of psalm and epistle were yet not sufficient in their strength. Even the heretical suggestions of Satan against them had not been refuted. Whatever was to be added must not merely fit the epic as Milton conceived it but must issue also from the character of the poet and confirm the truths he maintained.

The inspiration was Abdiel, whose deeds make vivid the Aristotelian dictum that the action is the soul of the epic. Milton was more interested in the idea than in the mere outward action of his poem; he will "justify the ways of God"; he is

Not sedulous by Nature to indite

Warrs [*PL*, Book IX, ll. 27-28].

But *Paradise lost* as a whole, to which may be added *Comus*, *Samson agonistes*, and *Paradise regained*, is the best evidence that he wished to deal with concept rather than with action alone, with the meaning of a story rather than its outward form. For this procedure the biblical narratives were admirably suited; in a theological age they could hardly be told as mere stories without implying at least the significance that generations of commentators had wrapped around them. Yet Milton is unlike many didactic poets in choosing the epic form, and choosing it heartily. His poem is not a direct presentation of theology or ethics; it is a real narrative. No small part of Milton's reputation rests on

portions of the poem other than the theological, such as the gorgeous studies in the "material sublime" that set forth hell. He realized that there may be passages even in a didactic poem that are primarily for delight. Nourished by Arthurian romance, he did not wholly lack the feeling of the mere story-teller. Though the war in heaven has for its idea the place and function of the Divine Son, it is also a Homeric narrative; for five hundred lines in Book VI the poet almost abandons the second psalm and Hebrews 1 for the war of the giants. Yet the plot is in its ultimate function subordinate to thought and character, though immediately they are both subordinate to it and unable to appear at all save as it furnishes them opportunity.²⁷ Perhaps nowhere else does Milton employ action to give life to thought more artistically than in setting forth the words and deeds of Abdiel. Plot and idea become one in the poetry of moral and physical heroism.

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²⁷ Something like an exception is presented by such a passage as Book IX, ll. 1-47, but even there the comment is suited to the stage the action has reached.

THOMSON'S *BRITANNIA*: ISSUES, ATTRIBUTION,
DATE, VARIANTS

JOHN EDWIN WELLS

IN THE "Life" prefaced to the monumental edition of James Thomson's *Works* in two volumes quarto (1762), Patrick Murdoch stated the incentive and the purpose of the political poem *Britannia*: "... the resentment of our merchants, for the interruption of their trade by the *Spaniards* in *America*, running very high, Mr. Thomson zealously took part in it, and wrote his poem *Britannia*, to rouse the nation to revenge." The mixture of accuracy and inaccuracy common in the brief critical discussions of the poem, and fresh first-hand information based on the originals,¹ may be felt to justify the following consideration of the poet's own printings, the early efforts at anonymity, the date of composition, and the variants among the early texts—all revelatory regarding Thomson's political activity.

The early printings.—Nine issues of *Britannia* were published during Thomson's lifetime: (1) in folio, January 21, 1729,² anonymous; (2) "The second edition," in quarto, 1730, anonymous, titled, paged, and sold as an independent item, and sold also at the end of the trade³ issue of the 1730 quarto *Subscription Seasons* plus *Hymn* plus *Newton*,⁴ and sold so united to make a Volume I for the 1736 quarto *Works*; (3) "The third edition," in octavo, 1730, anonymous, titled and paged as an independent item, and sold at the end of the 1730 octavo *Winter* plus *Hymn* plus *Newton*; (4) in octavo, independently paged, with half-title but no title-page, sold following *Newton* (likewise independently paged) at the end of the first consecutively paged octavo *Seasons* (1730); (5) pages 63–79, with half-title, of the octavo separate

¹ I own at least one copy of every authenticated issue of Thomson's writings in his lifetime, and in America and abroad have examined many other copies.

² See *Monthly chronicle*, register of books, for January, 1729.

³ The *Subscription* issue contained only the *Seasons*, *Hymn*, and *Newton*. See my article in *N&Q*, May 17, 1941.

⁴ For brevity, *A poem to the memory of Sir Isaac Newton* is styled *Newton* in the present article. Further, the *Hymn* and *Newton* are understood to follow *Winter* in all issues of that poem in and after 1730.

Winter plus Hymn plus Newton plus Britannia (1734), that was sold also as the last member of mixed series of the *Seasons* with the general title *The four seasons and other poems* (1735); (6) pages 262-77, no title-page or half-title, of Volume I of the octavo *Works* of 1738; (7, 8) pages 31-40, no title-page or half-title, of each of two editions of a translation of Milton's *A manifesto of the late Lord Protector* (1738),⁵ published by Andrew Millar; and (9) pages 307-23, no title-page, a half-title, of Volume I of the octavo *Works* of 1744. Of considerable significance on several of the points discussed in the present article is the fact that each of the nine printings, except the "Third edition" (1730),⁶ is from a fresh setting of type.

Efforts at anonymity.—The only appearances of Thomson's name on printings of *Britannia* during his lifetime are on the general title-pages—not in the heading of the poem—of the two editions of *A manifesto* of 1738. The three first editions (1729 and 1730) of the poem are the only anonymous separate issues of any of his poems. These efforts at anonymity were not long effective or long maintained. As early as the spring of 1729, Millan had been advertising⁷ *Britannia* labeled as "I," and *Newton* labeled as "II," following the latter with "By Mr. James Thompson, Author of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, etc." In the 1730 *Summer*, the "Second edition" of *Britannia* was listed as by Thomson, and it was so advertised in others of his writings after 1730. Moreover, new printings of *Britannia* were sold attached to the separate octavo *Winter plus Newton* issues of 1730 and 1734; reset separately paged without a title-page, the poem was attached to the octavo complete *Seasons* of 1730; the quarto "Second edition" (1730) was advertised as suitable for binding with the 1730 Subscription *Seasons* and was advertised and sold so bound and also as a part of the quarto Volume I to accompany which the 1736 quarto *Works*, Volume II, was printed; and in the 1738 and the 1744 *Works* the poem was printed consecutively paged with the other pieces.

The first issue of *Britannia* was "Printed for T. Warner," whose name is on no other title-page of writing by Thomson, though it is in

⁵ Léon Morel, *James Thomson, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1895), p. 100, misdates this item "1733."

⁶ See n. 15 below.

⁷ E.g., in the *London journal*, April 26, 1729.

the 1728 and 1729 list of book-sellers⁸ receiving subscriptions for the quarto *Seasons*. This choice of publisher would assist the effort at anonymity; it may have been affected by the fact that in 1729-30 Thomson was adjusting his relations with his publishers. In January, 1729, when *Britannia* was published, only *Winter*, *Summer*, *Newton*, and *Spring* had appeared. The three first and the separate *Autumn* of 1730 were issued by Millan. *Spring* in 1728 was printed for Millar and Strahan, and in 1729 for Millar, who in 1730 published *Sophonisba*. As G. C. Macaulay has indicated,⁹ the report of the appealed case of *Donaldson v. Beckett*, decided in 1774, states that the rights to *Sophonisba*¹⁰ and *Spring* were sold to Millar in January, 1729 (the month of issue of *Britannia*), and that the copyrights of the other poems to date, including *Britannia*, were made over to Millan in July of that year. The same report states that Millan transferred his copyrights to Millar in 1738.

Date of composition.—The discussions of the poem and notes on it¹¹ are few and brief. Some assert that the poem was first printed in 1727, some that it was written in 1727. The majority state that the title-page of the first edition bears the words "Written in the Year 1719," and that some later issues change "1719" to "1727." Actually, "Written in the Year 1719" occurs only in the title-page of the "Third edition" (1730) and in the half-title that is page 63 of the *Winter* dated 1734. In Thomson's lifetime "Written in the Year 1727" appears only in the headings of the poem on page 262 of Volume I of the 1738 *Works* and on page 31 of each of the two editions of the 1738 *Manifesto*; its next appearance is on page 10 of Volume II of the *Works* of 1750, some two years after the poet's death. The general title-page of

⁸ In the "Proposals" leaf at the end of the issues of *Spring* dated 1728 and 1729. In Millan's *London journal* advertisement of April 26, 1729, Warner is in the list of dealers selling Thomson's *Newton*.

⁹ James Thomson (London, 1907), p. 25. See Brown, *Parliamentary cases*, II, 129, and III, 88; G. B. Hill (ed.), *Johnson's lives of the English poets* (Oxford, 1905), III, 284 n.

¹⁰ In January, 1729, *Sophonisba* was in process of composition; it was acted and printed early in 1730. In England, from the fourteenth century till the change of style in 1752, the legal and ecclesiastical year began at March 25.

¹¹ E.g., *Seasons*, ed. Bolton Corney (London, 1842), p. xxi n.; *Poetical works* (Aldine eds., 1830), I, xxii-xxiii; (1847), I, 94, xli-xliv; (1860), I, xlviii, II, 183; (1897), I, xxix, II, 183; Morel, pp. 73, 77, 510, 664; W. Bayne, *James Thomson* (Edinburgh and London, 1898), pp. 61, 67; Macaulay, pp. 27, 190; *Poetical works*, ed. J. L. Robertson (Oxford University Press, 1908), p. 471. The preface in the type-facsimile *Britannia* (Oxford University Press, 1925), contains errors.

each 1738 issue of *A manifesto* bears the incorrect statement that the poem was "first published in 1727."

In 1719 Thomson was a nineteen-year-old student in Edinburgh, writing juvenile verses¹² of a quality and a manner giving little promise of the not too admirable lines of *Britannia*. Two explanations have been offered for "Written in the Year 1719" that, as we have seen, appears only in the "Third edition" of *Britannia* (1730) and in the printing with *Winter* in 1734, both issued by Millan. The first explanation is that "1719" is due to a misreading of "MDCCXXIX" at the foot of the title-page of the first edition. Similar misreadings of Roman numbers are common. But "Written in the Year 1719" appears first in the specially set-up¹³ title-page of the "Third edition," of 1730, which follows the "Second edition" dated "MDCCXXX," and the phrase reads "Written," not "Printed." Moreover, after ample opportunity to detect the "error," Millan approved "Written in the Year 1719" on the half-title of the 1734 newly set-up issue.

The second explanation is that the assignment to "1719" belongs to one of the classes of more or less patent defensive subterfuges commonly employed in the period to protest that attacks in a writing in question were not intentionally directed against conditions or incidents or persons that were actually the objects of attack. That the assignment to 1719 was resorted to in the midst of and in lieu of the failing anonymity that Millan had impaired and was disregarding in advertisements is suggested by the following facts: (1) the three separate issues of 1729 and 1730 are anonymous; (2) in 1729 Millan advertised the poem ambiguously *with* writings by Thomson, but not definitely as *by* Thomson; (3) in 1730 the anonymous "Second edition" was made up, priced, and sold as a separate publication, printed in quarto as suitable for binding with the Subscription *Seasons* though from type of a different cut and size, and advertised in the 1730 *Summer* as by Thomson; (4) in 1730 the poem separately paged without title-page or half-title was printed to be attached to the first consecutively paged octavo *Seasons* with *Newton*; and (5) the first assignment of the poem to 1719 was made on the specially set-up title-page of the

¹² See the *Edinburgh miscellany* (1720), pp. 193-204; and the manuscript of juvenile poems now in the Newberry Library, Chicago, printed by Schmidt-Wartenberg, *Anglia*, XXIII (1900), 129-52.

¹³ See n. 15 below.

anonymous "Third edition" octavo (1730), paged separately, not priced, attached (and apparently issued only so attached) to the 1730 *Winter and Newton*¹⁴—and its *verses*, with four slight changes, were evidently printed from the setting of type used for the "Second edition" in quarto.¹⁵

Thomson's behavior with respect to Walpole between 1727 and 1731 is of interest for its bearing on the dating of the poem and also for its accord with the inconsistencies in conduct common in his day. In June, 1727, he prefaced his poem *To the memory of Sir Isaac Newton* with an exaggerated eulogistic dedication to Walpole as "the Honour of our Country as a Philosopher . . . her most illustrious Patriot . . . by the wise Choice of the best of Kings . . . engag'd in the highest and most active Scenes of Life, balancing the Power of Europe, watching over our common Welfare, informing the whole Body of Society and Commerce, and even like Heaven dispensing Happiness to the Discontented and Ungrateful. . . ." This dedication appears in the three succeeding "editions" of 1727 and was omitted first in 1730 when all the prose dedications to the individual poems were dropped.¹⁶ Unless Thomson was seeking the favor of both the Opposition and the Ministry, it would seem unlikely that in 1727 he was writing *Britannia* directed against the "peace-at-any-price" policy of Walpole.

Outstanding in *Britannia* are forty-six verses (106-51) of enthusiastic apostrophe to "Fair PEACE," the "first of human Blessings! and Supreme!"—twenty-one of the forty-six devoted to particularized declarations of the gratitude of all classes to "the *Man divine*, who gives us Thee!" This passage would inevitably be applied directly to Walpole. By the author and the publisher it could on occasion be advanced as eloquently appreciative of laudable but inopportune mo-

¹⁴ The general title-page for the pamphlet calls for the inclusion of *Britannia* and bears a price for the whole. Contrary to the practice with printings of Thomson's pieces to be sold separately, the title-page of *Britannia* here bears no statement of price.

¹⁵ That the *verses* in the "Third edition" are printed from the same setting as the correspondents in the "Second edition" is shown by their identity in ornamental initial, cut and size of type, line lengths, spacing between words, and defects and irregularities of type; but the number of lines on the page and the spacing between lines were changed; the eight first verses were adjusted to the narrower page; the line-numbers were corrected and moved in closer to the verses; a new heading and new running-heads were supplied; and vss. 10, 88 *main* was changed to *Main*, vs. 52 *British* to *British*, vs. 222 *infected* to *inflected*, and vs. 239 *princes* to *Princes*.

¹⁶ Each *Newton* after 1727, except that in the 1730 consecutively paged octavo *Seasons*, is "Inscrib'd to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole."

tives and efforts of the Minister. But in the midst of a sentence it is somewhat awkwardly¹⁷ turned into an urging that war is sometimes, and is now, infinitely preferable to peace and should be prosecuted relentlessly—the theme of all the earlier and later portions of the poem. By most readers the whole passage would be greeted, favorably or unfavorably, as a spirited indignant protest against the inept toleration of Spanish outrages by an unpatriotic and pusillanimous Ministry.

Obviously, in 1729 when printers and writers were being prosecuted pretty freely for political utterances little more—and sometimes less—vigorous, Thomson and his publisher might well print *Britannia* anonymously and in 1730 seek to suggest that it was written ten years earlier. Probably little significance is in the appearance of Walpole's name for one copy, and his lady's for two copies, in the list of subscribers for the 1730 quarto *Seasons*, proposals for which had been circulated since 1727. Walpole's various subscriptions show little discrimination of friend from foe; he was comparatively indifferent to praise or blame from the writing class. Moreover, subscription lists of the eighteenth-century, and the list for the quarto *Seasons*, present curious contradictions. The queen, Walpole's well-known mainstay, headed the list for the *Seasons*. Twenty copies were taken by Bubb Dodington, who, though holding a Treasury post, was sedulously cultivating the Prince of Wales. To Dodington in 1727 Thomson dedicated *Summer* and in 1729 addressed *The happy man*.

The explanation of Millar's antedating as a protective disclaiming of intentional direction against current conditions is applicable to Millar's procedure in 1738 when, as we have seen, he took over the copyright of *Britannia*. Millar printed "Written in the Year 1727" in the heading of the poem in each of the issues of *A manifesto*, the first of which appeared in March, and repeated it in the heading in the *Works* published in June.¹⁸ His entries of a dating may be due partly to Millar's entries of a dating in his issues of 1730 and 1734; they may have been influenced by the fact that on the general title-page of *A manifesto* the date of the first printing of that tract is given;¹⁹ they may be

¹⁷ The sense might best be indicated by insertion of a comma before "War." In 1762, Murdoch and the printers had difficulty with the text at this point (see n. 35 below).

¹⁸ See *Gentleman's magazine*, March and June, 1738, pp. 168, 328.

¹⁹ "Written in Latin by JOHN MILTON, and first printed in 1655, now translated into English."

due partly to an effort to dispose of Millar's incorrect "1719." Millar's substitution of "1727" may have been in good faith; it may have been selected as approximately a decade earlier than 1738, just as Millan's "1719" was approximately a decade earlier than his adoption of it in 1730. The error in "first published in 1727" on the general title-page of *A manifesto* does not imply an error in "Written in the Year 1727" at the head of the poem. That the poet approved of both Millan's and Millar's datings would seem to be indicated by his failure between 1730 and 1734 to have "1719" changed or omitted and between the printings of 1738 to have "1727" changed. The datings of *Britannia* cannot have escaped his attention, for in no printing in his lifetime is a date of composition assigned to any other of his poems.²⁰ His apparent approval of "1719," which he must have known to be incorrect, suggests that his approval of "1727" was in the interest of something other than accuracy. As we have noticed, his printing of four "editions" of the poem on Newton in the last half of 1727, each with the egregiously exaggerated dedication to Walpole, makes it seem unlikely that he can have been writing *Britannia* in that year. Pertinent too is the fact that the poem is not dated in the next issue after 1738—namely, in the 1744 *Works* published some two years after the ministry of Walpole had fallen, and when no call for subterfuge existed.

Critics have accepted 1727 as the date of composition of our poem,²¹ apparently largely because Millar assigned it and because Murdoch would seem to have indicated it. Millar revived "Written in

²⁰ When the 1762 *Works* were in preparation, the editor, Murdoch, the poet's intimate friend, wrote Millar protesting against any departure from "the copies [of the various pieces] publish'd by himself [Thomson] (and with so much deliberation and care, that his printers were tir'd to death, as you well remember)." The letter is in John Wooll's *Biographical memoirs of the late Rev. Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), pp. 252-57.

²¹ As consonant with known authorship of the poem in 1729 and composition of it in 1727, Tovey (Aldine ed., 1897), I, xxxi) cites an undated original letter by Thomson to Mallet, which he mistakenly says Cunningham dates 1729. The key passage is the abruptly introduced "Have you heard that our present blockhead Laureate, or Laureate Blockhead [Eusden] has had a fling at Walpole too? He had better bribe them to silence. Posterity will call him, if Posterity hear anything of the matter, the Maevius-Bavius Maecenas, the discelebrated knight." Thomson could hardly be classing himself with "them," the Maevius-Bavius poetasters. Whether "too" implies a person other than Walpole attacked, or some other assailant (perhaps Richard Savage, whom the preceding sentences had been discussing) or assailants, it is a frail support for an assumption that Thomson had written, or was writing, or was planning to write, an attack. "Flings" at Walpole were common during twenty years before his fall in 1742. Cunningham (Aldine ed., 1860), I, cli) correctly suggests 1726 for the letter; it speaks of features with which Thomson is about to conclude *Summer*, which he printed in 1727.

the Year 1727" in the *Works* published in 1750 under the tampering influence of George Lord Lyttelton, one of Thomson's executors.²² In the "Life" prefaced to the two-volume *Works* of 1762, Patrick Murdoch, an intimate friend throughout the poet's active life, wrote: "Besides these [*Seasons* and *Hymn*], and his tragedy of *Sophonisba*, written, and acted with applause, in the year 1729, Mr. Thomson had, in 1727, published his poem to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton, then lately deceased. . . ." Murdoch devoted the rest of the paragraph to the *Newton* and opened the next with "That same year, the resentment of our merchants, for the interruption of their trade by the *Spaniards* in *America*, running very high, Mr. Thomson zealously took part in it, and wrote his poem *Britannia*, to rouse the nation to revenge." From this one would prefer to conclude that Murdoch meant 1727 rather than 1729 for the date of composition of *Britannia*. He printed no date with the text of the poem. He was writing the "Life" more than a dozen years after the death of Thomson. His dating there may be from his own knowledge; it may have been influenced by Millar's dating, for his texts of *Britannia* and other poems were corrupted by readings in the *Works* of 1750, 1752, and 1757, in which Millar revived the 1727 dating for our poem.

Consideration for security may well have influenced Millar in March and June, 1738, to maintain a dating for *Britannia* and to assign the date "1727"—again approximately a decade earlier than the year of publication. The publication of Milton's *Manifesto* against the Spaniards along with *Britannia* was a very timely enterprise. Readers would find these pieces of earlier date applicable in detail after detail to conditions in 1738. In the autumn of 1737 a large body of merchants trading in the West Indies addressed a vehement petition to the king against the governmental handling of relations with Spain. In October the king presented the petition to parliament; and the winter of 1737-38 and the succeeding months saw the Spanish situation a chief interest of the pamphleteers and the writers in the periodicals and the theme of long-remembered oratory in the House.

Further, before and during 1738, Thomson was openly cultivating the favor of the Prince of Wales, long at odds with the king and Walpole. In 1735 by permission he dedicated the First Part of *Liberty* to

²² As we shall see, this edition and those of 1752 and 1757, under the same influence, have affected more or less almost all later editions of Thomson's poems.

the prince, and in the 1738 *Works* he prefaced the whole poem with this dedication. In the *Gentleman's magazine* of September, 1737, he printed as "By Mr. Thomson" his ode "To His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales" on the birth of his daughter Augusta. In the same year the prince, now in violent open opposition to the king and Walpole, granted the poet a pension of £100 a year. In 1738 both Millar and Thomson were active against the administration, partly because of the Licensing Act that received the royal assent in June, 1737. This Act was in restraint of attacks on the government from the stage and implied a menace of further restriction of freedom of speech. Passages in Thomson's *Agamemnon*, submitted from Drury Lane to the licenser early in 1737,²³ first performed on April 6, 1738, and published by Millar on April 25, obviously reprehended the long absences of the king from England and assailed vulnerable features of Walpole's administration. The licenser set a pattern for his successors in office by passing over these passages, while he forbade the speaking of the comparatively innocuous final lines of the prologue written by Mallet.²⁴ The play was dedicated to the Princess of Wales. In January, 1738,²⁵ Millar published Milton's plea for unlicensed printing, *Areopagitica*, with a vigorous preface that is traditionally ascribed to Thomson;²⁶ and in March, as we have seen, he issued the first edition of the translation²⁷ of Milton's *Manifesto* with *Britannia*. In 1739 Thomson was to have his tragedy *Edward and Eleonora*²⁸ forbidden stage performance under the Licensing Act, at least partly because some of its passages were unmistakably aimed to assist the Opposition and the Prince of Wales.²⁹ Apparently, in face of this sustained activity of

²³ See Thomson's letter to Ross of January 12, 1737.

²⁴ The advertisement of the printed play in the *London daily post* of April 24, 1738, as to be published on the twenty-fifth, reads correctly and alluringly, "N.B. The lines in the prologue not allowed by the licenser to be spoken are printed and distinguished by inverted commas." Four days after the printing of the first edition of 3,100 copies, Woodfall ran off for Millar a second edition of 1,500. See *N & Q*, No. 292 (June 2, 1855), p. 419.

²⁵ See *Gentleman's magazine*, 1738, p. 56.

²⁶ See *The seasons*, ed. Bolton Corney (London, 1842), p. xxv, n. 53; Morel, p. 129; G. W. Whiting, *N & Q*, July 1, 1933, p. 457. An incorrect dating "1740" for the printing of *Areopagitica* repeatedly occurs in editions and discussions of Thomson.

²⁷ See *Gentleman's magazine*, March, 1738, p. 168.

²⁸ Advertised to be performed March 29, 1739; in May (see *Gentleman's magazine*, 1739, p. 276, item 24), "Printed for the Author; and sold by A. Millar," with a dedication to the Princess of Wales declaring that she was represented in the heroine. No entry of this play appears in Woodfall's ledger for 1739, as represented in *N & Q*, No. 292, June 2, 1855.

²⁹ See Miss Kern, *MLN*, LII (1937), 500; Macaulay, p. 49; *et al.*

Millar and Thomson, but slight advantage beyond an eluding of possible prosecution could be expected from the repeated assignment in 1738 of the composition and the printing of *Britannia* to 1727.

The elaboration of our remarks so far is due to the mixture of accuracy and inaccuracy in discussions of the poem and to the likelihood that, in the general absence of knowledge of the original conditions and features, future statements and judgments will be based on and guided by those discussions.

Actually, several passages of *Britannia* significant in their content and in their location appear to fix very closely their date of composition. The poem consists of a monologue by Britannia, introduced by fifteen verses, and followed by four verses, of narrative setting. The opening of Britannia's monologue concerns the arrival in England of Frederick, heir to the throne, who landed at Harwich on December 3, 1728.³⁰

Even not yon Sail, that, from the Sky-mixt Wave,
Dawns on the Sight, and wafts the ROYAL YOUTH,
A Freight of future Glory to my Shore;
Even not the flattering View of golden Days,
And rising Periods yet of bright Renown,
Beneath the PARENTS, and their endless Line
Thro' late revolving Time, can sooth my Rage. . . .

Again, in the last paragraph of her monologue, following the line "Of publick Virtue, blow it into Flame," Britannia utters in the first edition seven verses that are found in no later issue:

The THRONE be chief our Care; th' aetherial Streams
Of Wisdom, Justice, and Benevolence,
That issue thence, refreshing all the Land,
Joyous to swell: and o'er the lovely Round
Of ROYAL BEAUTY, which about it glows,
To hover fond, prophetick of those Days
That, FREDERICK! dawn delightful in thy Eye.

At odds with his son, and well aware of the family and governmental embarrassments resulting from his own bad relations as heir with the former king, George II since his accession in 1727 had kept Frederick in Hanover and had not created him Prince of Wales. The growing outspoken dissatisfaction of the English exploited by the Opposi-

³⁰ Of the poems on the "Arrival," the *Monthly chronicle* lists for December 23 one addressed to Lord Malpas, for January 15 one by Samuel Humphreys, for the twenty-second Eusden's laureate "Poem," and for the twenty-third Alex. le Hunt's "Verses."

tion and the Jacobites, and Frederick's behavior in the negotiations for his marriage, caused the king finally to summon him to England.³¹ These conditions, the notably enthusiastic welcome given the prince by the people on his arrival and his cold reception by his father, afford the background for Britannia's introduction of him, and her particular favor of him, at the beginning and at the end of her discourse—and account, as well, for her "due consideration" of the throne and the royal parents. Whether or not other parts of the poem were written earlier, the passages just quoted are of December, 1728, or at latest early January, 1729, and by their location made of *Britannia* published on January 21 a very timely "occasional" piece initially and finally complimenting a personage popularly prominent at the moment. The omission of the seven lines quoted in our last paragraph was made in the "Second edition" (1730), in the period in which Thomson permitted the association of the poem with his acknowledged writings and dedicated his *Sophonisba* to the queen.

Further, next after the seven lines that are in only the first edition, Britannia concludes her monologue with the following verses of the poem, which was published on January 21, the day on which the king opened parliament:

And now my *Sons*, the *Sons of Freedom!* meet
In awful Senate; thither let us fly;
Burn in the *Patriot's* Thought, flow from his Tongue
In fearless Truth; myself, transform'd, *preside*,
And shed the Spirit of BRITANNIA round.

The opening of parliament in January of each of the years 1727, 1728, and 1729 was preoccupied with the Spanish situation. The king's speech opening the session of 1727 characterized the Spanish minister's recent recall as practically a declaration of war. To the openly expressed extreme satisfaction of Walpole, the resultant hostilities were temporarily checked by preliminary agreements for peace signed in 1728. But the Spaniards maintained their seizure of vessels and restraint of trade.³² After parliament met on January 21, the day of

³¹ See the *Craftsman*, No. 118 (October 5, 1728), reprint III, 244; W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the life and administration of Sir Robert Walpole* (London, 1800), II, 422. On January 10 Frederick received the patent creating him Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester.

³² Appropriate for this protracted period of "false peace" is Britannia's characterization (vss. 23 ff.) of "the insulting Spaniard" who dares

"Despise my Navies, and my merchants seize
As trusting to false Peace, they fearless roam
The World of Waters wild. . . ."

publication of *Britannia*, merchants and others stormed it with protests against these breaches of peace, with accusations against the Ministry, and with demands for reparation and revenge. So, in its content throughout and in its date of publication, Thomson's poem, well printed in large folio on fine paper, was a notably timely piece, more so for its opportune vigorous voicing of the current hostility to the governmental Spanish policy than for its capitalization of the popular enthusiasm regarding Frederick.

Though whole pieces have been dated from no more considerable and prominent passages than those just noticed, it would be incautious to claim that all of *Britannia* was written in December, 1728—January, 1729. Possibly portions of the poem—notably the eulogy of peace and the man who wins it for a people—were composed earlier for purposes other than those to which they were turned in *Britannia*. But the closeness of connection and the consistent development and direction of the sections of the finished poem throughout make it unlikely that such earlier passages—if there are any—remain as originally written. We have noticed that the poem as printed, or any considerable portions of it in their final context and application, can hardly have been written in 1727, the period of publication of the four editions of the *Newton*, each with the fulsome dedication to Walpole.

Variant readings.—Soon after Thomson's death on August 27, 1748, George Lord Lyttelton, who was one of his two administrators and who is perhaps his collaborator in the alterations written in the copy of Volume I of the 1738 *Works* in the British Museum, undertook to improve the text of the poems.³³ The results appeared first in the four-volume *Works* published by Millar in 1750 and were somewhat extended in Millar's issues of 1752 and 1757. The prefaces of these issues assert complacently that "all" of Thomson's "writings will appear much more advantageously in their present form . . . than they did in their first publication." As we have noticed, Patrick Murdoch, after vigorously protesting that a writer's text should be let stand as he last left it,³⁴ adopted in his 1762 quarto edition some of the altera-

³³ See Tovey (Aldine ed., 1897), I, 189, and *Athenaeum* (1894), II, 131; Macaulay, pp. 58, 243, and *Athenaeum* (1904), II, 446; O. Zippel, *Thomson's Seasons: critical edition* (Berlin, 1908), p. vi; R. M. Davis, *The good Lord Lyttelton* (Bethlehem, Pa., 1939), pp. 211, 406.

³⁴ See his letter to Millar printed in John Wooll, *Biographical memoirs of the late Rev. Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), p. 252.

tions. These tamperings and the practice, despite protestations of fidelity, of following a print at hand instead of the originals have caused most of the later editions of the poems to present verbal readings here from one original, there from another, and some from none. For example, the four Aldine editions of 1830, 1847, 1860, and 1897 are so marred; and the texts in J. Logie Robertson's 1908 Oxford *Poetical works* are often untrue to their attributed bases. Fortunately, the verbal departures in these, the most generally accessible later editions, are not grave.

In the *Works* of 1750, *Britannia* was cut down to 284 verses misnumbered 286, with changes in some of the retained verses. The 1757 *Works* corrected the line numbering to 284. In 1762 Murdoch adopted some of the modifications in his text of 299 verses misnumbered to 304.³⁵ The Oxford edition notes at the end of the poem on page 480 that its text is "that of the last ed. (1744) published in Thomson's lifetime—*Works*, 8vo, vol. i, p. 309."³⁶ Actually, the Oxford text reproduces none of Thomson's issues. It does reproduce the *wording* of the Aldine editions of 1830, 1847, 1860, and 1897. Though they have the correct total of 299 verses, the Aldine and Oxford texts differ *verbally* from the 1744 *Works* in the following substitutions: —vs. 13,³⁷ *mourns* for *mourn'd*; vs. 35, *inactive* for *unactive*; vs. 42, *drooping* for *weeping*; vs. 76, *tempests* for *Tempest*; vs. 97, *those* for *these*; vs. 222, *inflected* for *infected*; and vs. 291, *Lo* for *And*.³⁸ Of these seven variants, only that in verse 222 occurs in any of Thomson's own issues. The Oxford text differs from the Aldine in punctuation, and the majority of the verses in both differ from Thomson's printings in punctuation, sentence-division, spelling, and use of capitals, italics, and contractions.

The first edition of *Britannia* has 310 verses, not numbered; the "Second edition" has 299 verses misnumbered to total 304; the "Third edition" has 299 verses correctly numbered; Thomson's other issues

³⁵ As at verses 156–58 (Oxford ed. numbering), where an alteration in vs. 156 and the omission of vs. 157 indicate hesitations by the printer or the editor that may account for the misnumbering of the verses by five at this point.

³⁶ The page and volume reference here is correct; but the text is not that of 1744.

³⁷ The 1744 text has vs. 130 and all later verses numbered too high by five. The line-numbers used in the present article are those of the Oxford *Poetical works* and of the Aldine editions, whose verbal readings are those of the Oxford text.

³⁸ The Aldine-Oxford wording for these verses disagrees with that of 1750 in vss. 13, 35, 76, and 97, and agrees in vss. 42, 222, and 291. It disagrees with the wording of 1762 in vss. 13, 35, and 76, and agrees in vss. 42, 97, 222, and 291.

(some with misnumbering) have 299 verses—except the text in the 1730 consecutively paged octavo *Seasons*, which (as we shall see) drops one line, though it preserves the numbering to 299. In use of punctuation, capitals, italics, and contractions, the issues vary much one from another.

The variants from the Aldine and Oxford editions quoted in the next to the last paragraph above enable anyone to obtain the *wording* of Thomson's final text of 1744. Additional modification of the Aldine text or the Oxford text according to the variants listed in the paragraph next below will provide the *wording* of any of Thomson's own issues.

The *verbal* variants among the issues in Thomson's own lifetime are as follows, the line-numberings used here being those of the Aldine and Oxford editions:

vs. 36, 1st ed., *ful Disease* becomes *hot disease* in 2d ed. and after; vs. 63, only *A manifesto*, 2d ed., has *the spirit*; vs. 101, only *A manifesto* (both eds.) has *th' etherial*; vs. 113, only *A manifesto*, 2d ed., has *the Reign*; vs. 116, *Instead of mangled Carcasses sad-seen* is omitted (? inadvertently) only in 1730 consecutively paged octavo *Seasons*; vs. 133, 1st ed., *City flourish, and the Country* becomes *country flourish and the city* in 2d ed. and after; vs. 175, only 1730 octavo complete *Seasons*, *A manifesto* (both eds.), and 1738 *Works* have *these* (1738, *These*) for *that*; vs. 180, 1st ed., *Inconquerable* becomes *Unconquerable* in 2d ed. and after; vs. 197, 1st ed., *Carthage, Rome, and Athens* becomes *Athens, Rome, and Carthage* in 2d ed. and after; vs. 212, only 1738 *Works* has *on his eternal*; after vs. 213, 1st ed., *And on the Brink of Fate begin to nod* omitted in 2d ed. and after; vs. 214, 1st ed., *blacken'd* (probably an error) becomes *slacken'd* in 2d ed. and after; for vss. 221–22, 1st ed. has "Rolls in a radiant Torrent o'er the Land,/ Fruitful of Wealth, Magnificence, and Joy,/ Of every glittering Harvest, richer far/ Than what *Hesperian* Gardens bore of old;/ Should this bright Stream, the least inflected, point," the later issues have "Rolls in a radiant deluge o'er the land,/ Should this bright stream, the least inflected, point," except that 2d ed. and 1744 *Works* have *inflected* for *inflected*; vs. 238, only 1738 *Works* has *then*; vs. 260, 1st ed., *gloomy Passions* becomes *sneaking Passions* in 2d ed. and after; vs. 279, 1st ed., *Wide o'er* is in 1730 octavo complete *Seasons*, *A manifesto* both editions, and 1738 *Works*, and becomes *Live o'er* in 2d ed. and the others; vs. 284, 1st ed., *lucious breathes* becomes *balmy breathes* in 2d ed. and after; between vs. 290 and vs. 291 only 1st ed., and no other, has the seven verses quoted in the eighth paragraph next above.

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT

TEXTUAL VARIATIONS IN A MANUSCRIPT OF *SHE STOOPS TO CONQUER*¹

COLEMAN O. PARSONS

IN HER paper, "A manuscript version of *She stoops to conquer*,"² Professor K. C. Balderston has noted three interesting variations (59, 69, and 72 in my numbering) between the printed text of Goldsmith's play and the licenser's copy in the Larpent Collection of the Huntington Library and has objected to the original title, *The novel or mistakes of a night*, in that it neither makes effective sense throughout nor is demonstrably the author's. I believe that a fuller treatment of early title and variant readings is needed.

At the end of the licenser's copy, page 115, appears an undated request for permission to act:

St: This Comedy is intended to be performed at The Theatre Royal Covent Garden with the Permission of The Right Honourable The Earl of Hertford³

Y^r hble Serv^t

G. COLMAN

The inner paper cover⁴ contains the following written matter:

- | | |
|---|---|
| A | It was subsequently called
She Stoops to Conquer |
| B | or Mistakes
The Novel ^ of a Night
Comedy
1773 |
| C | C. Garden |
| D | ———
——note Dr. Johnson in Boswell's Life——
of the difficulty of finding a title for (?)
this——. ⁵ |

¹ This article, though written and accepted in 1934, has been delayed in publication by the loss of the manuscript in the mail. I have revised slightly, taking advantage of suggestions made by Professor Dugald MacMillan.

² *MLN*, XLV (1930), 84-85.

³ Francis Seymour Conway (1719-94), Earl, later Marquis, of Hertford, was Lord Chamberlain from 1766 to 1782 and again from April to December, 1783.

⁴ When the plays were in the examiner's keeping, they had no other front cover than the first page of the manuscript, which was often left blank by the copyist. The heavier, dark-blue paper covers in which they are now bound are of a later date.

⁵ The reference may be to Johnson's remark: "We are all in labour for a name to Goldy's play" (*Boswell's life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill [Oxford, 1887], II, 205, n. 4, 258;

These entries are in three different hands. *A* and *D* are later additions, probably by John Payne Collier, and *C* is merely a transfer of information contained in George Colman the Elder's request. *B* is written in a heavy, loose, yet clear hand which may be distinguished on the inner cover of every play in Case 13 Middle, of which *The novel* is No. 6, except Dr. Thomas Arne's *Squire Badger*, which is in the handwriting of the author. Two of the plays in Case 13 M, William O'Brien's *Cross purposes* and Kane O'Hara's *The golden pippin*, are like *The novel* in not being mentioned by title in the manager's statement of intention to produce. In O'Hara's burletta, the title was written by the amanuensis only on the inner paper cover, and the date is in the hand of the writer of *B*, who may have been the acting examiner of plays, Edward Capell.

Changes in title and even titleless manuscripts are not unusual in the Larpent Collection. After Goldsmith's unnamed comedy had been submitted by George Colman, the author apparently decided on a title, with or without the assistance of his literary friends, and sent or had it sent to the inspector of plays to be added to the manuscript. This not infrequent procedure can be traced in the many prologues, epilogues, songs, bits of dialogue, and altered scenes which were conveyed by letter or messenger to the licenser's office after the plays themselves had been examined. Blank spaces were left in several manuscripts for later insertions, and there is even reason to suppose that some plays were returned for further revision and that others were exchanged for more perfect copies. When this freedom was allowed in building up a play after it had been deposited with the licenser, one need not be surprised that a title was submitted later than the play to which it belonged.

Miss Balderston has also objected to Goldsmith's rejected title because the word "novel" does not make sense except in the obsolete meaning of "novelty," the last instance of whose use is recorded in the *Oxford English dictionary* for 1712 (the date should be 1719). However, a rare use of the word as a synonym of fiction, story, or inven-

V, 308). The pencil note itself, in long- and shorthand (with Miss Dorothy Bowen's assistance on the latter), is apparently a partial duplication of a comment in J. P. Collier's copy of Baker, Reed, and Jones's *Biographia dramatica* (London, 1812), interleaf facing III, 263. See also Dougald MacMillan, *Catalogue of the Larpent plays in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1939), pp. 59-60.

tion is noted in the *Oxford English dictionary*. Old Wilding in Samuel Foote's *The lyar* (III, ii) exclaims: "... Your novels won't pass upon me."⁸ Now it is Tony Lumpkin's very fiction or invention of his step-father's house being an inn and of driving his mother and Miss Neville forty miles in the dark that results in a whole train of "mistakes of a night." The subtitle was suggested by the concluding speech of the comedy, in which Hardecastle assures Marlow and Kate that the mistakes of tonight shall be crowned with a merry morning. *The novel* was probably dropped because the applicability of the phrase could readily be obscured by its more accepted meaning. Thus we find at the bottom of a Covent Garden playbill for the ninth (author's) night of Arthur Murphy's *Alzuma*, Saturday, March 13, 1773, the following announcement: "On Monday, (Never Performed) a New Comedy call'd The Mistakes of a Night."⁹

Shortly after the playbill was printed, Goldsmith hit on the title of *She stoops to conquer; or, mistakes of a night*. This he transmitted to Joseph Younger, who replied on Sunday evening, March 14, that he had ordered the bills altered as Goldsmith desired and that he would take care in the morning to supply the licenser with a fair copy of the epilogue "& also the additional Title to the Play."⁸ The hint for this additional title has been traced to a line in Goldsmith's rejected epilogue⁹ and to a couplet by Dryden.¹⁰ A more immediate source may have been Kate Hardecastle's line, which reads in the Larpent manuscript: "I'll still preserve the Character in which I conquer'd [first edition: stoop'd to conquer]." Although Miss Balderston opines that the phrase was altered to suit the new title, it is not impossible that Goldsmith improved the speech before the first performance and, in

⁸ *The lyar* (London, 1764), p. 52; the play was first acted in 1762.

⁹ *Covent Garden playbills 1772-1773*, No. 132, Kemble-Devonshire Collection, Huntington Library.

¹⁰ *The collected letters of Oliver Goldsmith*, ed. K. C. Balderston (Cambridge University Press, 1928), pp. xlv-i-xlvii.

"... the creature [the author].
Still stoops among the low to copy Nature."

—*Collected letters*, p. xlvii.

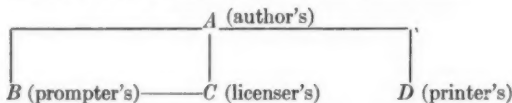
"The prostrate lion, when he lowest lies,
But kneels to conquer, and but stoops to rise."

I have been unable to locate Dryden's couplet. Perhaps the source-finders have altered the conclusion of Dryden's *Amphitryon*, Act III, to suit Goldsmith:

"The offending lover, when he lowest lies,
Submits, to conquer; and but kneels, to rise."

doing so, discovered the title he had so long sought. But, in attempting to analyze the mental process by which an author achieves a felicitous phrase, we enter on shaky ground.

The difference between the text of the Larpent manuscript and that of the printed version of *She stoops to conquer* is more interesting than the evolution of the title. The licenser's copy of a play, unless it is submitted in an imperfect state, may be as close (or even closer) to the acting version as the first edition or the author's original manuscript. Only the prompter's copy has superior value in the study of stage history, for it incorporates last-minute changes and lacks the sometimes undramatic literary polish of the published text. Although the interdependence of the various copies is often very complex, their simplified relation may be represented in diagram form:



In most cases *C* derives from *B* (in an early and even formative state); in some *D* derives from *B* (in a final form); in others *C* infrequently and *D* most frequently go back to *A*. As far as I know, only the *C* and *D* versions of *She stoops to conquer* have survived the vicissitudes of acting plays; these are indicated, respectively, in my marginal abbreviations as L (Larpent) and 1773 (first edition of March 26). There are some ninety-one variant readings in the Larpent manuscript; these are numbered and listed in the order of their occurrence, and page references in L and 1773 are given. Dots indicate identical omissions in L and 1773, except in No. 9, where the text of Tony's song, which appears only in 1773, is left out. In the majority of cases I have quoted from L and inclosed the variant reading of 1773 in brackets.¹¹ Unimportant substitutions such as "I loves" (1773.11) for "I love" (L.12), "Lock-a-daisy" for "Lack a daisy," "genus" for

¹¹ The page reference in 1773, when not given in the margin, is this: 2, p. 2; 3, p. 3; 4, p. 5; 5, p. 5; 6, p. 9; 7, p. 9; 8, p. 9; 10, p. 11; 11, p. 11; 12, p. 12; 13, p. 13; 14, p. 13; 15, p. 14; 16, pp. 14-15; 17, p. 16; 18, p. 17; 19, p. 17; 20, p. 17; 21, p. 19; 23, p. 20; 24, p. 21; 25, p. 22; 26, p. 22; 27, p. 22; 28, p. 23; 30, p. 24; 31, p. 24; 32, p. 25; 33, p. 25; 34, p. 27; 35, p. 27; 36, p. 28; 37, p. 28; 39, p. 32; 41, p. 34; 43, p. 35; 44, pp. 35-36; 45, p. 36; 46, p. 37; 47, p. 38; 48, p. 41; 51, p. 46; 52, p. 49; 53, p. 49; 55, p. 50; 57, p. 61; 59, p. 62; 60, p. 63; 61, p. 63; 64, p. 71; 65, p. 72; 69, p. 84; 70, p. 84; 71, p. 85; 73, p. 86; 74, p. 87; 75, p. 87; 76, p. 88; 77, p. 88; 79, p. 97; 82, p. 104; 86, p. 111; 87, p. 111; 88, p. 111; and 91, p. 114.

"Genius," "behaviour" for "behaviour," "haspicholls" for "harpsicholls," and "pistils" for "Pistols" have not been separately noted.

ACT I

- 1 1773.2. *Mrs. Hardcastle*: . . . an old rumbling mansion. . . . And all our entertainment your old stories of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. . . .
- L.1. *Mrs. Hardcastle*: . . . an old rambling Mansion. . . .
- 2 L.2. *Mrs. H.*: . . . I'm not so old as you'd make me, by one [more than one] good Year. . . .
- 3 L.3. *Mrs. H.*: Spirit [Humour,] my dear, nothing but Spirit [humour]. . . .
- 4 L.5. *Hardcastle*: . . . By living a year or two in Town, she is come to be as fond of gauze and Paris nets [she is as fond of gauze], and french frippery as the best of them.
- 5 L.5. *Hard.*: . . . I can [could] never teach the fools of this Age that the nakedness of the indigent [that the indigent] world, could be clothed out of the trimmings of the vain.
- 6 L.10. *Miss Neville*: . . . as the only [very] pink of perfections [perfection].
- 7 L.10. *Miss N.*: A fortune like mine, which consists chiefly [chiefly consists] in jewels, is no such great catch [mighty temptation]. . . .
- 8 L.11. *Miss Hardcastle*: Would it were bed time, Hal, [bed time] and all were well.¹²

SCENE 2

- 9 1773.10-11. *Tony*: Then I'll sing you, gentlemen, a song I made upon this ale-house, the Three Pigeons.

SONG

Let schoolmasters
Toroddle, toroddle, toroll.

- L.11. *Tony (Sings)*:
- 10 L.12. *Fourth Fellow*: . . . If so be that a gentleman is [bees] in a concatenation ackoardingly [accordingly].
- 11 L.12. *Third Fellow*: . . . May this be my poison, if my Bogie¹³ shall ever dance [bear ever dances] but to the very genteelest of tunes. . . .

¹² Kate is echoing Falstaff, *I Henry IV*, V, 1:

"I would it were bed-time, Hal, and all well."

¹³ "Bogie" (bugbear?) used here affectionately.

- 12 L.13. *Tony*: Ecod, and when I'm of age, I'll be no Changeling¹⁴
[bastard], I promise you. . . .
- 13 L.14. *Tony*: . . . But I'm told you have been enquiring for one Mr.
Hardcastle, in these [those] parts. . . .
- 14 L.15. *Marlow*: We did not want any body [We wanted no ghost]¹⁵
to tell us that.
- 15 L.16. *Tony*: . . . Mr. Hardcastle's of Quagmire marsh, you know
[you understand me].
- 16 L.16-17. *Marlow*: (*noting it down*) Cross down Squash lane.
.....
Marlow: Come to where four roads meet (*still noting*)
.....
Marlow (*who has been noting*):¹⁶ Zounds, man, we could as soon
find out the Longitude.
- 17 L.18. *Landlord*: . . . But a keeps as good wines and beds as any in
the whole County [country].

ACT II

- 18 L.20. Scene, an old fashion'd Hall [House].
- 19 L.20. *Hardcastle*: . . . You all know your parts [posts] and your
places. . . .
- 20 L.21. *Diggory*: . . . I learn'd to hold my hands this aways [way].
. . . .
- 21 L.22. *Hard.*: You numskulls, and so, while like your betters you are
quarreling about [for] places, the Guests must be starv'd and
undone [starved]. . . .
- 22 1773.19. *Second Servant*: . . . and so Ize go about my business.
(*Exeunt Servants, running about as if frightened,*
different ways)
- L.23. *Second Servant*: . . . and so I'll go about my business.
(*Exeunt several ways running*)
- 23 L.23. *Hastings*: As you say, we Passengers are to be taxed to support
all this finery [pay all these fineries]. . . .
- 24 L.25. *Marlow*: . . . but to go through all the terms [terrors] of a formal
Courtship. . . .
- 25 L.26. *Marlow*: . . . till I see his own [my father's] again.

¹⁴ "Changeling," in the sense of an inconstant person, forgetful of old comrades and extravagant propensities?

¹⁵ Cf. n. 12. Horatio's lines, *Hamlet*, I, v, are:

"There needs no ghost, my lord, come from the grave
To tell us this."

¹⁶ These three stage directions do not appear in 1773.

- 26 L.27. *Marlow*: . . . This stammer in my address, and this awkward professing [prepossessing]¹⁷ visage of mine can never permit me to soar above the pitch [reach] of a Milliner's 'Pren-tice. . . .
- 27 L.27. *Hardcastle*: . . . I like to give them a hearty welcome [recep-tion] in the old stile at my gate. . . .
- 28 L.28. *Hastings*: I fancy, Charles [George,],¹⁸ you're right. . . .
- 29 1773.23. *Marlow*: . . . the embroidery to secure a retreat.
Hardcastle: Your talking of a retreat, . . . when we went to besiege Denain. . . .
- L.28. *Marlow*: . . . the embroidery to secure a retreat.
Hastings: And the Spring velvet brings up mine.
Hardcastle: Your talking of a retreat . . . when he went to besiege Demain. . . .
- 30 L.29. *Hard.*: . . . well appointed with Stores [stones,],¹⁹ Ammu-nition, and other implements of war . . . without spilling a single drop [a drop] of blood. So—
- 31 L.29. *Hard.*: There's a [Here's,],²⁰ cup, Sir.
- 32 L.30. *Hard.*: . . . I left it to mind [mend] itself. Since that I no more trouble my head about Alli Bey,²¹ or Heider Ally [about *Heyder Ally*,], or Ally Cawn, than about Ally Croak-er. . . .
- 33 L.30. *Hastings*: So what [that] with eating above stairs, and drinking below, with receiving your friends without [within,], and amusing them within [without,], you lead a good pleasant bustling life of it.
- 34 L.32. *Marlow*: . . . It's a modest way [a way] I have got. . . .
- 35 L.33. *Hardcastle*: . . . till he had eaten it.
*Enter Roger, who gives a Bill of Fare.*²²
Hastings: (*Aside*) All upon the high ropes. . . .
- 36 L.33. *Marlow*: (*reading*) For the first Course, at the Top, a Pig's face [a pig,],²³ and Pruin sauce.

¹⁷ "Prepossessing" has been altered to "unprepossessing" in some editions; thus the sense of the passage is improved.

¹⁸ Some editors have corrected this obvious mistake in 1773.

¹⁹ A misprint in 1773; altered to "stores" in subsequent editions.

²⁰ This reading has been altered to "Here's a cup" in some editions.

²¹ All Bey (b. 1728) became chief of the Mamelukes and ruler of Egypt; he was defeated in battle on April 13, 1773, and died eight days later. His omission from the printed text was probably not the result of second sight on Goldsmith's part.

²² This stage direction is not in 1773. Some editors insert before the concluding sentence of Hastings' speech, "Re-enter Roger."

²³ L has "Pig's face" where Hastings and Mr. Hardcastle subsequently refer to "pig" in 1773.

- 37 L.34. *Marlow*: . . . and a dish of Tiff—Tuff [taff—]—Taffety cream.
- 38 1773.31. *Miss Neville*: . . . what if we still continue to deceive him?—
This, this way—
L.37. *Miss Neville*: . . . what if—this way.
- 39 L.38. *Hastings*: Our Mistresses, my boy [mistresses boy,], . . .
- 40 1773.33. *Marlow*: . . . confoundedly ridiculous. Yet, hang it! I'll take courage. Hem!
L.39. *Marlow*: . . . confoundedly ridiculous.
- 41 L.40. *Marlow*: Only a few Madam. Yet [Yes,] we had some. Yes.
. . . .
- 42 1773.35. *Marlow*: (*Relapsing into timidity*) Pardon me, Madam, I—I—
I—as yet have studied—only—to—deserve them.
Miss Hardcastle: And that some say is the very worst way to obtain them.
L.41. *Marlow*: (*relapsing into timidity*) Pardon me, Madam, I. I. I.
Miss Hardcastle: Then why take such pains to study and observe them?
Marlow: As yet I have studied—only—to—deserve them.
Miss Hardcastle: And that same way is the very worst way to obtain them.
- 43 L.42. *Marlow*: . . . But I'm afraid I fatigue you [grow tiresome].
- 44 L.42. *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . Indeed I have often been surprized how a man of speculation [*sentiment*] could ever admire those light airy pleasures. . . .
- 45 L.42. *Miss H.*: (*aside*) Who could ever suppose this Gentleman [fellow] impudent upon some occasions. . . .
- 46 L.43. *Marlow*: . . . But I'm sure I fatigue [tire] you, Madam.
- 47 L.45. *Tony*: Ay but I want to know [I know] what sort of a relation you want to make me tho'. . . .
- 48 L.47. *Mrs. Hardcastle*: And yet my [Mrs.] Niece. . . .
- 49 1773.42. *Mrs. H.*: . . . with a spoon! Did not I work that waistcoat to make you genteel? Did not I prescribe for you every day, and weep while the receipt was operating?
Tony: Ecod! you had reason to weep, for you have been dosing me ever since I was born. I have gone through every receipt in the complete huswife ten times over; and you have thoughts of coursing me through *Quincy* next spring. But, Ecod! I tell you. . . .
L.49. *Mrs. H.*: . . . with a Spoon.
Tony: Ecod, I tell you. . . .

- 50 1773.43. *Tony: (singing). There was a young man riding by, and fain would have his will. Rang do didle dee. Don't mind her. . . .*
 L.50. *Tony: Don't mind her. . . .*
 51 L.52. *Tony: . . . (Sings) We are the boys, that fear [fears] no noise, when [where] the thundering Cannons roar.*

ACT III

- 52 L.55. *Hardcastle: . . . and a familiarity that froze me to death [that made my blood freeze again].*
 53 L.55. *Hard.: . . . and when I was talking of my Friend Bruce,²⁴ ask'd me if [was in my best story of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, he asked if]. . . .*
 54 1773.50. *Miss Hardcastle: . . . Certainly we don't meet many such at a horse race in the country.*
 L.56. *Miss Hardcastle: . . . Certainly he has a very passable complexion.*
 55 L.56. *Hardcastle: . . . the rest of his qualifications [furniture]. With her, a smooth face stands for good sense, and a genteel figure is a receipt for every virtue [figure for every virtue].*
 56 1773.57. *(He²⁵ runs off, she follows him.)*
 L.64. *Exit. M^{rs} H. follows, pushing him.*
 57 L.67-68. *Marlow: I protest Child, you use me extremely confoundedly ill [extremely ill]. . . .*
 58 1773.61. *Marlow: . . . My name is Solomons. Mr. Solomons, my dear, at your service. (Offering to salute her.)*
 L.68. *Marlow: . . . My own name is at your service. (going to kiss her)*
 59 L.69. *Marlow: . . . There's M^{rs} Mantrap, Lady Black-leg [Lady Betty Blackleg,], the Countess of Sligo, M^{rs} Long-horns, Miss Rachael Buck-skin [Mrs. Langhorns,²⁶ old Miss Biddy Buckskin,²⁷]. . . .*

²⁴ James Bruce (1730-94), African traveler, reached Egypt in 1768 on his way to explore the sources of the Blue Nile; he did not return to England until 1774.

²⁵ Tony.

²⁶ "Longhorns" in 5th ed. (1773).

²⁷ For the same variant reading see 1773.111 and L.111. Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Upper Ossory on March 27, 1773: "Miss Loyd is in the new play by the name of Rachael Buckskin, though he has altered it in the printed copies. Somebody wrote for her a very sensible preproof to him, only it ended with an indecent *grossièreté*. However, the fool took it seriously, and wrote a most dull and scurrilous answer; but, luckily for him, Mr. Beauclerk and Mr. Garrick intercepted it." Walpole informed George Montagu on May 6, 1770, that he was a member of this "club of both sexes to be erected at Almac's, on the model of that of the men of White's," whose charter members were Miss Rachael Lloyd, housekeeper at Kensington Palace; Mrs. Anne Fitzroy; Mrs. Meynell; Miss

- 60 L.70. *Marlow*: . . . I never threw three sixes [nick'd seven], that I did not fling duce ace [throw ames ace] three times following.
- 61 L.70. *Hardcastle*: By the hand of my body, I am astonish'd [I believe his impudence is infectious!]. . . .
- 62 1773.64. *Miss Hardcastle*: I hope, Sir, . . . as yet has been inclination.²⁸

ACT IV

- 63 1773.69. *Hastings*: . . . I'll leave you to your meditations on the pretty bar-maid, and, he! he! he! may you be as successful for yourself as you have been for me.
- L.76. *Hastings*: . . . I'll leave you to your Meditations on your Mistress.
- 64 L.78. *Hardcastle*: Zounds, he'll drive me distracted, I can contain myself no longer [if I contain myself any longer]. . . .
- 65 L.79-80. *Marlow*: . . . and I'll leave you, and your damn'd infernal [your infernal] house directly.
- 66 1773.82-83.²⁹ *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . I'm sure I should be sorry to affront any gentleman who has been so polite, and said so many civil things to me. . . . no fortune but my character.
- L.82. *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . no fortin but my charackter.³⁰
- 67 1773.83. *Marlow*: . . . and it touches me; (to her) Excuse me. . . .
- L.82. *Marlow*: . . . and it touches me. How natural it is for a Recluse to fall in love at first. (to her) Excuse me. . . .
- 68 1773.83. *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . as good as miss Hardcastle's, and though I'm poor. . . .
- L.83. *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . as good as Miss Hardcastle's, and I'm not behind her in Plain work and Pastry. What tho' I'm poor. . . .
- 69 L.84. *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . I'll still preserve the Character in which I conquer'd [stoop'd to conquer,], . . .
- 70 L.84. *Tony*: . . . Here she comes—we must court a stroke [bit] or two more. . . .
- 71 L.85. *Mrs. Hardcastle*: Well I was greatly fluster'd [fluttered,] to be sure. . . .

Frances Pelham; Elizabeth (Betty) Spencer, Countess of Pembroke and Montgomery; and Isabella Stanhope, Countess of Sefton. One wonders whether Goldsmith had the last two in mind when he named Lady Betty Blackleg and the Countess of Siligo (*The Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Mrs. Paget Toynbee [Oxford, 1903-5], VIII, 263-64; VII, 381).

²⁸ This, the concluding speech of Act III, is not in L.

²⁹ The first edition is Puckishly paginated; it skips from p. 72 to p. 81.

³⁰ This omission, "I'm sure . . . to me," was probably due to the confusing juxtaposition of three sentences beginning, "I'm sure I should be sorry. . . ."

- 72 1773.85. *Tony*: O! it's a pretty creature. No, I'd sooner leave my horse in a pond, than leave you. . . .
- L.85. *Tony*: O, it's a pretty Creter. No, I'd sooner leave a hare in her form, the dogs in full cry, or my horse in a pound,³¹ than leave you. . . .
- 73 L.86. *Tony*: Give it to Mother [my mamma].³² . . .
- 74 L.87. *Tony*: . . . but here there is [are] such handles. . . .
- 75 L.87. *Tony*: . . . (reading) Dear Squire [Sir].— . . . but whether the next is [be] an Izzard. . . .
- 76 L.88. *Miss Neville*: Ay, so it is, (pretending to read) hoping [Dear Squire, Hoping]. . . .
- 77 L.88. *Mrs. Hardcastle*: How's this! (reads) I'm now [Dear Squire, I'm now]. . . .
- 78 1773.93. *Tony*: . . . I'll give you leave to take my best horse and Bet Bouncer into the bargain. . . .
- L.93. *Tony*: . . . I'll give you leave to run me through the Guts with a shoulder of mutton.³³ . . .

ACT V

- 79 L.97. *Marlow*: . . . We had but one interview, and that was formal cold [modest] and uninteresting.
- 80 1773.99. *Miss Hardcastle*: As most profest admirers do . . . gave a short tragedy speech, and ended with pretended rapture.
- L.99. *Miss Hardcastle*: As most profound admirers do; . . . and ended with a short Tragedy speech.

SCENE 2

- 81 1773.103. *Tony*: Don't be afraid, mama, . . . find us. Don't be afraid. Is that a man that's galloping behind us? No; it's only a tree. Don't be afraid.

³¹ See *Collected letters*, ed. Balderston, pp. xi-xii, for an anonymous critic's suggestion that the playwright restrain Tony's exuberance of simile. A study of L shows that this was the only stricture of the nine made by the "sincere friend & admirer" that Goldsmith heeded. "Pond," it should be noted, is a permissible spelling of "pound."

³² For the same variant reading see 1773.102-3. and L.102-3.

³³ This, the concluding speech of Act IV, was probably revised before the second night, Tuesday, March 16. The *Whitehall evening post* for March 18, the day of Goldsmith's first benefit, commented: "Where he means to give a comic jest, he sometimes gives us a farcical one. We must remark however, that some of these redundancies were peculiar to the first representation, and were judiciously omitted the succeeding night." The same paper, two days earlier, had spoken of "stale ribaldry" and secondhand jokes lifted from Tom Brown (1663-1704) and Joe Miller (1684-1738), but no one who has ever waded through the puns, scurrility, smart comebacks, and pornography of these comic writers could agree with the intemperate critic. I quote from the *Collected letters*, ed. Balderston, p. xlii. Tony's remark to Hastings (V, ii), 1773, p. 102, "Just now, it was all ideot, cub, and run me through the guts," would seem to indicate some excision of midriff humor before the play went to the examiner.

- L.103. *Tony*: Don't be afraid, Mother, . . . find us? No, it's only a Tree. Don't be afraid.³⁴
- 82 L.103. *Hardcastle*: I'm mistaken, or I heard voices of people in want of help, hereabouts [help]. Oh! Tony is it [that] you? . . .
- 83 1773.106. (*Follows him off the stage. Exit*)
Hard.: There's morality, however, in his reply. (*Exit*)
 L.106. (*Exit, driving Tony off the Stage*)

SCENE 3

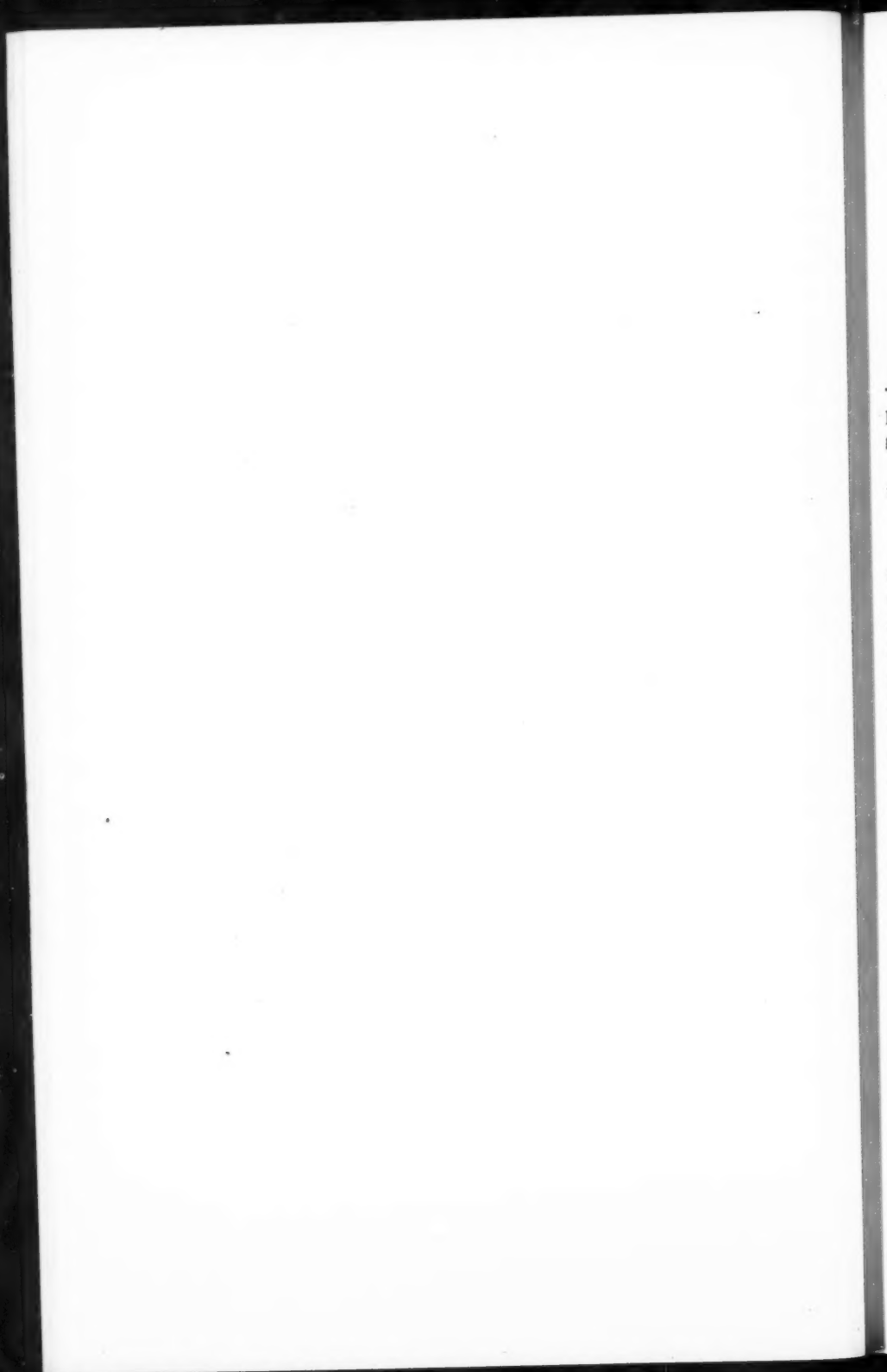
- 84 1773.110. *Marlow*: . . . of my past conduct.
Miss Hardcastle: Sir, I must entreat you'll desist. . . .
- L.109-10. *Marlow*: . . . of my past conduct.
Sir Charles: I was never so confounded!
Hardcastle: I told you how it would be. Just now he'll deny every syllable of this to our faces.
Miss Hardcastle: Sir, I must entreat you'll desist. . . .
- 85 1773.110. *Marlow*: (*Kneeling.*) Does this look like security. Does this look like confidence. No, Madam, . . . and confusion. Here let me continue—
- L.110. *Marlow*: Oh! Madam . . . and confusion.
- 86 L.111. *Miss Hardcastle*: . . . the mild modest, sentimental man of speculation [gravity]. . . .
- 87 L.111. *Marlow*: Zounds, there's no bearing this, it's worse than a charg'd culverin [than death].
- 88 L.111. *Hardcastle*: . . . You shall not stir [not, Sir,] I tell you. . . .
- 89 1773.112. *Hard.*: Sure Dorothy you would not be so mercenary?
Mrs. Hard.: Ay, that's my affair, not your's. But you know. . . .
- L.112. *Hard.*: Sure Dorothy, you could not be so mercenary.
Mrs. Hard.: Yes, I'm resolv'd.
Hard.: But you know. . . .³⁵
- 90 1773.113-14. *Hard.*: Above three months.
Tony: . . . I, Anthony Lumpkin, Esquire, of Blank place, refuse you, Constantia Neville, spinster, of no place at all, . . .
Sir Charles: O brave 'Squire.
- L.114. *Hard.*: Above these three months.
Tony: . . . I Anthony Lumpkin Esq'. refuse you Constantia Neville. . . .
- 91 L.114. *Hard.*: . . . the mistakes of to night [the Night]. . . .

³⁴ The presence of "and us" at the end of two sentences probably accounts for this scribal omission in L; the meaningless use of the question mark would seem to indicate as much.

³⁵ This speech is wrongly ascribed to Mrs. Hardcastle in 1773, as it is in all editions antecedent to Prior's in 1837.

The literary and dramatic *raison d'être* of most of the changes listed above is sufficiently patent; they compress and vivify the dialogue. If the manuscripts from which the copyist and the printer worked can be supposed to have been of a like accuracy, the printer proves to be the more dependable textual guide, although his readings or those of his manuscript are not always superior ones. Such of his inferior readings as have not already been pointed out in the notes may be mentioned here. The probabilities are that the Hardcastle mansion was a rambling rather than a rumbling one (1); that Marlow and Hastings inquired for the Hardcastles in these rather than those parts (13); that the landlord informed the sparks of Hardcastle's keeping as good wine and beds as any in the whole county rather than country (17); that Hardcastle told his servants they knew their *parts* rather than their *posts* and places (19); that Diggory learned to hold his hands this *aways*, rather than this way (20); that Hastings spoke of Hardcastle's receiving his guests without [he met the young men at the gate] rather than within and amusing them within rather than without (33); and that the ungrammatical Tony declared there *is* rather than *are* such handles (74). Whether Mrs. Hardcastle was greatly flustered or fluttered would be more difficult to decide (71). On the whole, although the number of textual variations between L and 1773 is not surprisingly large, there are enough effective changes to indicate that Goldsmith's literary conscience bothered him in the interval between the submission of his comedy to the examiner and its publication by Newbery eleven days after the first performance.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK



STENDHAL ET LANCELIN

JULES ALCIATORE

AU DEBUT de 1803, Henri Beyle devient un lecteur infatigable. Il a fait de la carrière dramatique le but de sa vie; et, convaincu qu'il faut avant tout connaître l'homme, il commence par étudier les moralistes. C'est d'abord Helvétius qui lui sert de guide. Puis, au printemps de 1803, il découvre P. F. Lancelin.¹

En tête d'un de ses cahiers, intitulé «Pensées diverses», et daté du 13 thermidor an XI (1^{er} août 1803), Beyle avait placé cette annotation:

13 Th^{or}

L = Lancelin

H. Helvétius

h. henri²

ce qui semble indiquer qu'il se proposait alors d'entreprendre une étude suivie de Lancelin. Il insère effectivement, au début de ce même cahier, cette petite constatation mathématique: «L. Un calcul peut être inexact et donner des résultats justes. Cela arrive lorsqu'il y a compensation par des erreurs de même valeur en sens contraire.»³ Comme il l'indique lui-même, la remarque est empruntée à Lancelin. Dans la troisième partie de son *Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*, celui-ci s'occupait en effet «De la division de nos connoissances; des progrès et des bornes de l'esprit humain» et remarquait notamment que la langue du calcul différentiel et intégral est mal faite dans presque tous les livres élémentaires: «Elle renferme des obscurités, des contradictions et même quelques absurdités qui néanmoins n'empêchent pas les résultats d'être rigoureusement exacts, parce qu'il y a

¹ Lancelin est l'auteur de *l'Introduction à l'analyse des sciences, ou de la génération, des fondemens, et des instrumens de nos connoissances*, t. I (Paris: Didot, an IX—1801); t. II (Paris: Fuchs, an XI—1802); t. III (Paris: Fuchs, an XI—1803). Son influence sur Beyle est bien moindre que celle d'Helvétius, de Destutt de Tracy, de Maine de Biran, et de Cabanis. Elle n'est cependant pas à négliger.

² Manuscrits de Grenoble, R. 5896, t. XXVII, fol. 106. Un premier état de cette note se trouve dans le même cahier, fol. 96, sous la forme suivante: «Pensées diverses / L Lan ... / H Hel ... / h hen ...» Les fol. 96-99v semblent bien être le premier jet du début du cahier qui commence au fol. 6. (Ces renseignements et bien d'autres encore nous ont été communiqués par M. Robert Vigneron, qui a bien voulu s'intéresser à la présente étude et nous donner des conseils indispensables. C'est à lui que nous devons toutes nos références aux manuscrits de Grenoble, dont il nous a permis de citer ses transcriptions inédites.)

³ R. 5896, t. XXVII, fol. 106; *Pensées*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1931), I, 127.

une compensation constante de paradoxes en sens contraire». ⁴ On ne saurait expliquer précisément pourquoi Beyle a introduit cette pensée mathématique dans un cahier qui ne renferme guère que des réflexions psychologiques et dramatiques; ⁵ il n'en reste pas moins que, dès le 1^{er} août 1803, il entreprend de tirer parti de l'*Introduction*. ⁶

Mais, comme l'a signalé M. Vigneron, c'est seulement le 30 fructidor an XI (17 septembre 1803) que Beyle commence à dépouiller le traité de Lancelin. ⁷ Afin de développer l'idée capitale qu'il avait eue le 1^{er} janvier 1803 («Opposition de caractères et de passions formant des situations tragiques»), ⁸ il a ouvert le tome II de l'*Introduction*. Lancelin y annonçait justement qu'il destinait son livre à présenter «le développement des désirs, des besoins, des passions, des affections et des habitudes morales». ⁹ Après avoir nommé et décrit les principaux mouvements, sentiments, et affections du cœur humain, Lancelin ajoutait que l'habitude de les éprouver les transforme en passions plus ou moins énergiques et durables. Il concluait cette partie de son exposé en déclarant qu'il n'avait pas l'intention «de donner un traité des passions», mais qu'il avait dû se borner à caractériser les principales d'entre elles en remontant à leur génération. ¹⁰ Beyle se rendit tout de suite compte que ce chapitre renfermait précisément de quoi étoffer les classifications qu'il avait dressées d'abord le 1^{er} janvier 1803. Cette première liste comprenait les passions suivantes: religion, fanatisme, haine, vengeance, ambition, amour de la gloire, honneur, amour de la patrie, envie, orgueil, amour pour une femme, amour pour un homme,

⁴ *Introduction*, III, 38-41.

⁵ Vers le 3 mai, il est vrai, il projetait d'appliquer «les mathématiques au cœur humain», et c'est peut-être dans ce but qu'il a recueilli la remarque de Lancelin. Mais l'idée d'employer cette méthode lui venait de Chateaubriand; cf. Robert Vigneron, «Stendhal disciple de Chateaubriand», *Modern philology*, XXXVII (1939), 44-45.

⁶ Dans la liste qu'il fait à Claix, le 23 février 1804, des livres qu'il a laissés à Paris, nous trouvons le titre suivant: «Lancelin. 1 in-8»; cf. *Journal*, éd. H. Debraye et L. Royer (Paris: Champion, 1923-34), I, 326. *La Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel* annonce la publication de la troisième partie de l'*Introduction* dans son N° 194, 14 germinal an XI [4 avril 1803], p. 876. Stendhal a quitté Paris au mois de juin 1803 pour Grenoble, où il est resté jusqu'au mois de mars 1804. Il paraît donc probable que c'est au printemps de 1803 qu'il a acquis l'*Introduction*. On peut donc admettre qu'il a apporté à Grenoble les tomes II et III, qu'il utilise en août et septembre. En ce cas, le volume laissé à Paris serait le tome I, qu'il semble découvrir seulement lors de son retour à Paris (cf. Vigneron, p. 53, n. 61).

⁷ Vigneron, p. 52, n. 57.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁹ *Introduction*, Préface, II, x-xj.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-31. Dans le reste du chapitre, Lancelin indique les sources de toutes les vertus et de tous les vices: sans lumières, sans raison, il n'y a point de vertu; la «déraison» ou l'ignorance est la source de tous les vices. Il conclut que les deux grandes opérations de la volonté consistent à aimer et à haïr (*ibid.*, pp. 31-42).

amitié, crainte, et terreur.¹¹ Sur un feuillet isolé, daté du 1^{er} janvier 1803 et du 15 floréal an XI (5 mai 1803), Beyle avait ajouté à cette liste la vanité, l'avarice, la lâcheté, la misanthropie; et il y avait en outre défini l'ennui,¹² la folie, et l'hypocrisie.¹³ Enfin, le 27 floréal an XI (17 mai 1803), il avait rédigé une nouvelle série de classifications. Il avait commencé par dresser une liste des passions naturelles: faim, soif, envie de coucher avec une femme; et il avait ajouté à cette liste l'égoïsme et la paresse, «force retardante».¹⁴ Il avait rangé, sous la rubrique «Etats», la pitié et le mépris, et ébauché enfin une définition de la passion.¹⁵

Jusqu'ici Beyle s'est inspiré surtout de Chateaubriand et d'Helvétius, mais le 30 fructidor an XI (17 septembre 1803), dans son «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc.», il met à contribution un troisième auteur: Lancelin. A la liste des passions mentionnées ci-dessus, il ajoute maintenant la cruauté, la clémence, la cupidité, l'émulation.¹⁶ Lancelin consacrait une page à peu près à l'émulation, et il ne parlait guère moins de la cruauté.¹⁷ Quant à la clémence, qualité opposée à la cruauté, Lancelin n'en disait rien. Pour étoffer ce qu'il appelait, dans son travail du 27 floréal, «Etats», Beyle a encore recours à l'auteur de l'*Introduction*. Alors qu'il ne plaçait naguère dans cette catégorie que la pitié et le mépris, il subdivise maintenant les «Etats» en «Etats du corps» et «Etats de l'âme». Les premiers comprennent «Faim, Soif,

¹¹ «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire XI [7 décembre 1802]. Cette liste des passions se trouve au fol. 9v. et porte la date «Jour de l'an 1803».

¹² «L'ennui est un état qui devient force». Beyle s'inspire, en l'occurrence, du livre de l'*Esprit* (Paris: Durand, 1758), Dis. III, chap. v, «Des forces qui agissent sur notre âme», p. 290. Helvétius réduit à deux ces forces, la haine de l'ennui et les passions: «On voit donc que ce sont les passions et la haine de l'ennui qui communiquent à l'âme son mouvement, qui l'arrache à la tendance qu'elle a naturellement vers le repos, et qui lui fait surmonter cette force d'inertie à laquelle elle est toujours prête à céder» (*ibid.*, pp. 295-96).

¹³ «Oppositions de liens et de passions donnant des caractères capables d'émouvoir», R. 302, liasse, feuillet isolé, notes datées du 1^{er} janvier 1803—15 floréal an XI [5 mai 1803].

¹⁴ R. 5896, t. I, fol. 120v, daté du 27 floréal an XI [17 mai 1803]. Cette définition de la paresse remonte à Helvétius, Dis. III, chap. v, p. 290, où l'auteur affirme que les passions fortes et la haine de l'ennui contrebalancent chez l'homme la paresse et l'inertie.

¹⁵ R. 5896, t. I, fol. 120v. Comme le remarque M. Vigneron, cette définition est empruntée à Helvétius (cf. Vigneron, p. 50, et n. 53).

¹⁶ «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc. appris à Grenoble depuis le 5 messidor an XI jour de mon arrivée jusqu'au ...», R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 3.

¹⁷ *Introduction*, II, 18-19, 30.

Sommeil, Amour, Evacuation, Jouissance (suit un des besoins satisfaits), La paresse (peine à se remuer). Les derniers sont : « Joie, allégresse, gaieté, tristesse, abattement, mélancolie, désespoir, jouissance, malaise, inquiétude, espérance, paresse (peine à remuer) ». ¹⁸ Pour la première catégorie, Beyle a suivi le passage de l'*Introduction* où Lancelin s'occupait des besoins naturels, tels que ceux « de la soif, de la faim, du sommeil, de l'amour ». ¹⁹ Il est donc évident que par « Etats du corps », Beyle traduit ce que Lancelin nomme « besoins ». Il suit même (en plaçant, il est vrai, la faim avant la soif), l'ordre adopté par l'auteur de l'*Introduction*. Quant à la définition que Beyle donne de la jouissance, il l'emprunte encore à Lancelin, qui expliquait qu'un « besoin, s'il est satisfait, devient *jouissance* ». ²⁰ Ainsi donc, toute la liste des « Etats du corps », à deux exceptions près, revient à Lancelin. Pour le malaise et l'inquiétude qu'il insère dans la catégorie des « Etats de l'âme », Beyle a eu recours au passage de l'*Introduction* où Lancelin, après avoir décrit la jouissance, ajoute que le besoin non satisfait « est le *malaise* qui est suivi d'une agitation intérieure que je nomme *inquiétude* ». ²¹

Dans une première colonne à gauche, Beyle avait fait la liste d'une autre série d'« Etats de l'âme » : « Joie, allégresse, gaieté, tristesse, abattement, mélancolie, désespoir ». ²² Il suivait là encore l'ordre dans lequel Lancelin examinait ces mêmes sentiments : après avoir défini la joie, Lancelin indiquait « ses nuances et ses degrés », comme l'allégresse et la gaieté ; il analysait ensuite le sentiment opposé à la joie — la tristesse, qui produit à la longue « un affoiblissement que l'on peut nommer *abattement* ». ²³ Beyle a ajouté, de son propre chef, la mélancolie et le désespoir.

Il ne semble pas s'être inspiré de Lancelin dans le dénombrement

¹⁸ « Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc. », R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 4v et 5.

¹⁹ *Introduction*, II, 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. En plaçant l'espérance après l'inquiétude, Beyle suit encore l'ordre établi par Lancelin. Après avoir décrit l'inquiétude, Lancelin ajoutait : « Pour sortir de cet état, l'animal se retourne en tous sens ; il emploie, pour réussir, toutes les ressources de son corps et de son esprit, toute l'énergie de sa volonté. Tandis qu'il croit pouvoir réussir dans l'exécution de ses projets, dans la possession d'un objet désiré ou la conservation d'un objet possédé, il éprouve ce sentiment que l'on nomme *espérance* » (*ibid.*, p. 13).

²² « Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc. », R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 4v.

²³ *Introduction*, II, 15-17.

qu'il fait des «Habitudes morales»,²⁴ mais il a encore recours à l'*Introduction* pour rédiger sa liste des «Passions comiques». Dans une première colonne à gauche, Beyle range les «Habitudes causées dans le principe par» les passions suivantes: avarice, libéralité, générosité, prodigalité, économie, bienveillance [biffée], bienfaisance, égoïsme, inhumanité, justice, sagesse, prudence.²⁵ C'est une fois de plus chez Lancelin que Beyle découvre cette liste des «Passions comiques».²⁶

A la suite de ce classement des passions comiques, Beyle place plusieurs définitions, dont voici la première: «Les passions prennent nom de vices lorsqu'elles sont nuisibles à l'individu et à la société; vertus lorsqu'elles sont utiles à l'une et à l'autre».²⁷ Cette définition reproduit textuellement celle de Lancelin. Après avoir analysé «les principaux mouvemens, sentimens et affections du cœur humain» et noté que «l'habitude de les éprouver les transforme en passions plus ou moins durables», Lancelin ajoutait en effet: «Si ces passions sont nuisibles à l'individu et à la société où il vit, ce sont des *vices* qu'il faut travailler à prévenir ou à déraciner; si elles sont utiles à l'un et à l'autre, ce sont des *vertus*, qu'il faut faire germer, nourrir et développer par toutes sortes de soins et de moyens».²⁸ Des passions, Beyle passe en-

²⁴ «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc.», R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 4v. La seule exception c'est la bienveillance qu'il a biffée de la liste des «Passions comiques», et qu'il place ici. Notons aussi que c'est probablement à Lancelin que Beyle emprunte l'expression «Habitudes morales».

²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 5v. Nous ne mentionnons que les passions empruntées à Lancelin.

²⁶ *Introduction*, II, 26-32. Nous pourrions ajouter qu'en insérant dans sa liste des «Passions comiques» beaucoup de passions que Lancelin n'indiquait pas et en mettant à côté de certaines d'entre elles l'initiale d'un auteur ou le nom d'une de ses pièces («L'avarice. L'avare. M»), Beyle ne fait peut-être que suivre le conseil de Lancelin (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 42-43): «Nota. Outre les élémens précités (l'amour, la haine, etc.), outre les affections premières et les habitudes fondamentales qui en dérivent, lesquelles embrassent le système général de nos sentimens moraux, il existe une foule de mots que les hommes ont employés pour rendre dans tous les cas particuliers toutes les variations dont ils sont susceptibles, toutes les nuances des besoins, des passions, et des caractères, et dont ils ont formé la nomenclature générale des vertus et des vices, des travers et des ridicules, en un mot des qualités bonnes et mauvaises du corps, de l'esprit, et du cœur, à mesure que le tems, les progrès ou les changemens de la civilisation, en ont amené le développement, mais que je n'entreprendrai pas ici d'analyser.—On sent bien que je ne puis qu'esquisser rapidement le grand tableau des vertus et des vices dont le développement, les formes et les nuances très-variées composent la prodigieuse diversité des caractères qu'offre une société civilisée. Pour le peindre, il faut la plume d'un Molière, d'un Labruyère, d'un Lafontaine, etc. C'est dans les bons ouvrages comiques et dramatiques; c'est sur les théâtres, dans l'histoire et les bons romans qu'il faut voir l'homme en détail et en action, lorsque par la méditation on a appris à bien connaître les pièces fondamentales de cette étonnante machine».

²⁷ «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc.», R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 6. Cf. Vigneron, p. 52, n. 57.

²⁸ *Introduction*, II, 31. Cf. *Correspondance*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1933-34), I, 127: «On nomme vertu l'habitude des actions utiles à tous les hommes. Vice, l'habitude des actions nuisibles à tous les hommes». Comme l'indique M. Vigneron (p. 52, n. 57), toutes ces définitions rappellent celles d'Helvétius (cf. *De l'esprit*, pp. 46-47, 49).

suite aux mœurs: «Les habitudes par elles-mêmes ou par leurs suites forment les mœurs d'un peuple».²⁹ Il ne fait là que résumer l'*Introduction*. Après avoir expliqué comment les sociétés prennent naissance, Lancelin continuait: «A leur suite, et avec le temps et l'expérience, sont nés les arts, les lois, les sciences, les vertus et toutes qualités sociales, en un mot le vaste ensemble d'habitudes, qui compose ce que j'appelle les mœurs d'un peuple».³⁰

Tous les emprunts précédents, que Beyle a insérés dans son «Recueil de traits», proviennent du chapitre premier de l'*Introduction*, mais Beyle a aussi recours au chapitre II: immédiatement après avoir défini les mœurs d'un peuple, il note: «sympathie faculté de s'identifier avec autrui».³¹ Dans le chapitre en question, «De l'extension de l'amour de soi ou de la sympathie, principe universel de sociabilité», Lancelin remarquait justement que «la sympathie est la faculté de s'identifier avec autrui».³²

Ce relevé montre que, vers le 17 septembre 1803, Beyle est tout imprégné de l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences* et qu'à l'aide de ce livre, il approfondit et développe de plus en plus son étude des passions. Il trouve effectivement chez Lancelin la description de tant de sentiments et de nuances de sentiments qu'il est obligé d'inventer de nouvelles classifications. Alors que le 1^{er} janvier il rangeait tous les sentiments sous la rubrique «Passions», le 17 septembre il ajoute les catégories suivantes: «Etats du corps», «Etats de l'âme», «Habitudes morales», «Passions comiques». De plus, c'est Lancelin qui semble avoir renforcé chez Beyle l'idée de recueillir des «traits» dans les livres et surtout dans les pièces. Beyle emprunte aussi à l'auteur de l'*Introduction* la définition des vices, des vertus, des mœurs, et de la sympathie. Ainsi donc, le travail que Beyle entreprend le 30 fructidor marque, grâce à Lancelin, un progrès sensible sur les précédents.

C'est peut-être le désir de rattacher à des principes tous ces faits isolés qui a amené Beyle à chercher un système. Toujours est-il que lors de son retour à Paris en avril 1804, après un séjour à Grenoble et à

²⁹ «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc.», R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 6.

³⁰ *Introduction*, II, 42.

³¹ «Recueil de traits, anecdotes, etc. etc.», R. 302, notes datées du 30 fructidor an XI [17 septembre 1803], fol. 6.

³² *Introduction*, II, 46.

Genève, il commence à étudier l'homme en utilisant la distinction entre le cœur et l'esprit. Le 19 germinal an XII (9 avril 1804), il observe: «Ma distinction of heart and understanding me sera utile, même as a Bard»; le soir même, après avoir assisté à une représentation d'*Agamemnon* et de *Sganarelle*, il note fièrement: «Ma distinction (l'âme et l'esprit) me fait voir dans ces deux pièces bien des choses que je n'y aurais pas vues. Je pourrai bientôt résoudre cette question: Qu'est-ce que la plaisanterie?»³³

A vrai dire, cette distinction était traditionnelle, pour ne pas dire classique; et Beyle lui-même la connaît depuis longtemps.³⁴ Cependant, au début de 1804, il en parle comme d'une découverte personnelle, et il en fait le point de départ de ses réflexions sur l'homme et sur l'art dramatique. Mais, s'il s'arroge le titre d'inventeur pour avoir reconnu l'importance psychologique de cette distinction, il n'en est pas moins probable que Vauvenargues et surtout Lancelin l'ont aidé à s'en faire une idée nette.

Du 24 germinal au 1^{er} floréal an XII (du 14 au 21 avril 1804), il lit Vauvenargues,³⁵ dont il fait de nombreux extraits.³⁶ L'un d'eux est ainsi conçu: «Le bien où je me plais change-t-il de nature? Cesse-t-il d'être bien?»³⁷ Beyle, partisan de la doctrine de l'intérêt, taxe d'orgueil

³³ *Journal*, I, 62. C'était surtout dans le genre comique que Beyle désirait exceller et il cherchait depuis longtemps «les causes du rire»: cf. «Pensées», cahier daté du 30 germinal an XI [20 avril 1803], fol. 8v; *Pensées*, I, 117.

³⁴ Cf. lettre à Pauline, daté du 6 vendémiaire an IX [28 septembre 1800], *Correspondance*, I, 24: «Je t'ennuie toujours en te parlant d'études, mais songe que je veux voir un jour ma chère sœur aussi estimée par les qualités de l'esprit que par celles du cœur». Cf. aussi *ibid.*, p. 54, et «Pensées sur différents sujets», R. 302, cahier daté du 16 frimaire XI [7 décembre 1802], fol. 1v, reproduit par M. H. Martineau (*Pensées*, I, 8): «L'esprit est l'œil de l'âme, non sa force. Sa force est dans le cœur, c'est-à-dire dans les passions. La raison la plus éclairée ne donne pas d'agir et de vouloir. Suffit-il d'avoir la vue bonne pour marcher, ne faut-il pas encore avoir des pieds, et la volonté avec la puissance de les remuer. (VV.)» Comme l'indique Beyle, cette pensée est empruntée à Vauvenargues, *Introduction à la connoissance de l'esprit humain, suivie de réflexions et de maximes* (Paris: Briasson, 1747), p. 287. Le 21 ou le 28 février et le 15 décembre 1803, il se sert encore de l'expression «l'esprit et le cœur»; cf. *Correspondance*, I, 108, 159.

³⁵ *Journal*, I, 64, 71.

³⁶ R. 302, double feuillet isolé, non daté, fol. 1-2; *Pensées*, I, 193-99. Rien ne permet de fixer absolument la date de ces extraits, mais la plupart ont probablement été faits entre le 14 et le 21 avril 1804; cf. Vigneron, p. 53, n. 60.

³⁷ R. 302, double feuillet isolé, non daté, fol. 1v; *Pensées*, I, 195. Sous le titre, «Du bien et du mal moraux», Vauvenargues établissait que toutes les actions qui sont conformes à l'intérêt général sont vertueuses, quelque soit le motif de celui qui agit: «Parce que je me plais dans l'usage de ma vertu, en est-elle moins profitable, moins précieuse à tout l'univers, ou moins différente du vice, qui est la ruine du genre humain? Le bien où je me plais change-t-il de nature? Cesse-t-il d'être bien?» (pp. 109-10). Beyle désire d'autant plus défendre cette manière d'envisager la morale qu'elle s'accorde parfaitement avec celle d'Helvétius.

ceux qui ne souscrivent pas à l'opinion de Vauvenargues et soutient que cette opinion peut servir à «approfondir l'âme et l'esprit (le cœur et la tête) of happy qui pense que c'est par orgueil que Brutus fut vertueux». ³⁸

Ce qui démontre définitivement que Beyle croyait vraiment avoir inventé un nouveau système, c'est la naïve discrétion avec laquelle il fait l'aveu: «De l'âme, all my découverte is in this paragraphe». ³⁹ Il veut sans doute dire que ce paragraphe renferme déjà la distinction qu'il a lui-même établie entre l'âme et l'esprit. En effet, Vauvenargues soutient, dans ses «Fragmens», paragraphe «De l'âme», qu'il ne sert à rien d'avoir de l'esprit quand on n'a point d'âme, car l'âme forme l'esprit et lui donne l'essor; et que c'est aux qualités de l'âme qu'il faut attribuer les succès et l'élévation des grands hommes. ⁴⁰ Beyle retrouve donc sa découverte et trouve le germe d'une théorie qu'il approfondira de plus en plus: l'influence de l'âme sur l'esprit. Le 1^{er} floréal (21 avril), il finit Vauvenargues et passe à Lancelin. ⁴¹ Deux jours après, en sortant d'une représentation de *Il Re Teodoro*, il admire encore l'utilité de sa découverte: «La division de l'âme et de l'esprit m'éclaire de plus en plus». ⁴² Le lendemain, 4 floréal (24 avril), il rédige un fragment où il décrit les deux parties de l'homme moral. Ce fragment, intitulé «Philosophie nouvelle», ⁴³ porte comme sous-titre «Sentiments et idées». ⁴⁴ Pour le coup, l'influence de Lancelin est

³⁸ R. 302, double feuillet isolé, non daté, fol. 1v; *Pensées*, I, 195. Nous verrons plus bas pourquoi Beyle adopte la nouvelle nomenclature «le cœur et la tête».

³⁹ R. 302, double feuillet isolé, non daté, fol. 1v; *Pensées*, I, 197.

⁴⁰ Vauvenargues, pp. 140-41. Helvétius, comme Vauvenargues, expliquait l'esprit comme un effet des passions, c'est-à-dire du cœur. Beyle connaît cette théorie d'Helvétius depuis le début de 1803: il copie alors une pensée d'Helvétius où il s'agit de l'influence des passions sur l'esprit: cf. R. 302, liasse, pièce 7, fol. 6v; *Pensées*, I, 62-63; et Helvétius, *De l'Homme, Œuvres complètes* (Londres, 1781), III, 224.

⁴¹ *Journal*, I, 71.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴³ Il ne faut pas se laisser leurrer par l'assertion faite après coup dans la *Vie de Henri Brulard*: «J'avais une théorie intérieure que je voulais rédiger sous le titre de: *Philosophia nova*, titre moitié italien, moitié latin»; cf. *Vie de Henri Brulard*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1927), II, 243. Ce n'est pas en 1800, comme porterait à le croire la place qu'occupe ce passage dans la *Vie*, mais bien au début de 1804 que Beyle pense à rédiger sa théorie.

⁴⁴ R. 302, liasse, feuillet isolé; *Pensées*, I, 232. C'est probablement vers le 4 floréal (24 avril) qu'il rédige un autre fragment également intitulé «Philosophie nouvelles». Il range sous ce titre plusieurs réflexions, dont voici la première et la principale: «Ma grande division du centre de sentiment et du centre d'adresses» (R. 5896, t. I, fol. 121; *Pensées*, I, 230). Bien que M. Martineau place ce fragment parmi «quelques pensées ... isolées au tome I des manuscrits de Grenoble cotés R. 5896» et qu'il date les premières vers le 21 pluviôse [11 février], rien ne prouve que Beyle les ait rédigées à la même époque. Le fragment que nous

incontestable : dans le Discours préliminaire de l'*Introduction*, il faisait sentir que tout dépend de la manière dont l'homme analyse son être moral : « Oubliant donc pour un moment qu'il existe des livres, je vais descendre en moi-même, chercher ce qui s'y passe, dresser un tableau de mes *idées* et de mes *sentimens*, en un mot, faire mes efforts pour décomposer ma tête et mon cœur (cette portion de notre être qu'on appelle l'âme ou le moral de l'homme) en parties très distinctes, qui étant presque aussi-bien connues que celles d'une machine quelconque, pourront en quelque sorte s'analyser aussi-bien qu'elles, et dont la nomenclature une fois régulièrement déterminée, doit former un jour les élémens d'une science exacte, et d'un traité que l'on pourroit alors intituler *les lois de la faculté pensante et de la volonté, ou théorie de l'âme* ». ⁴⁵ Ce sont apparemment ces remarques qui ont déterminé Beyle à substituer la formule, la tête et le cœur, à celle qu'avait employée Vauvenargues. ⁴⁶ Mais ce qu'il importe surtout de souligner, c'est qu'à l'aide de cette « théorie de l'âme », Beyle pourra maintenant poser les bases de sa « Philosophie nouvelle ». Il se hâte donc de copier, en les résumant, certains passages de l'*Introduction* :

Je nomme *sensation* l'effet du contact de ce qui est hors de nous avec notre corps [*Pensées*, I, 232].

Nous sentons ... qu'il existe quelque chose hors de nous, dont le contact avec notre corps produit un effet interne que j'appelle *sensation* ... [*Introduction*, I, 1-2].

Le *cerveau* est un sens intérieur qui reçoit les rapports de tous les autres et qui a la faculté de combiner des sensations (imaginer), de porter des jugemens sur elles (raisonner), de se rappeler les sensations (se souvenir) [*ibid.*]. ⁴⁷

[Lancelin considère les cinq organes extérieurs] comme autant de conduits ou canaux aboutissans à un même centre intérieur ou point de jonction, le *cerveau*, avec lequel ils font corps, et dont ils ne sont, pour ainsi dire, que le prolongement. Ce dernier est, à proprement parler, un sixième sens, dont l'activité résulte

citons se trouve au folio 121 sur une feuille d'un papier différent tandis que celui dont se sert M. Martineau pour dater les autres (*Pensées*, I, 227, n. 1, et 229, n. 1) est au folio 137.

⁴⁵ *Introduction*, Discours préliminaire, I, xvij-xix. C'est nous qui soulignons les mots *idées*, *sentimens*, *tête*, et *cœur*.

⁴⁶ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 78.

⁴⁷ Il se peut que Beyle se souvienne aussi de cette autre description du cerveau : « Le cerveau est l'organe central qui reçoit, conserve ou renouvelle, et combine de toutes manières ces premiers élémens [les sensations] ... » (*Introduction*, Discours préliminaire, I, xv).

en partie de l'action combinée de tous les autres organes. La différence principale existante entre le cerveau et les sens précités, c'est que chacun de ceux-ci ne peut recevoir et transmettre qu'une seule classe de sensations, tandis que celui-ci les reçoit toutes, les compare, les analyse, et les combine ... [*ibid.*, p. 43].

Je nomme *cœur* l'ensemble des organes destinés à sentir les passions, ces organes sont les parties intérieures du corps humain, où il y a le plus de nerfs [*ibid.*].

J'entends par ce mot *cœur* l'ensemble des organes intérieurs destinés à éprouver les sentimens moraux ... le plaisir et la peine ont lieu spécialement dans toutes les parties du corps où les nerfs abondent ... [*ibid.*, pp. 43-45].

J'appelle *idées* les sensations du *cerveau*, je nomme *sentimens* les sensations du *cœur* [*ibid.*].

Cela posé, j'appelle *idées* les sensations du *cerveau*, et *sentimens* les sensations du *cœur* ... [*ibid.*, p. 45].

Beyle termine son fragment idéologique en montrant, d'après l'abbé Prévost, comment la tête agit sur le cœur :

« Je me remplis si fortement de cette opinion qu'elle eut la force de diminuer beaucoup ma tristesse. » (Manon Lescaut 259.) Voilà bien les deux systèmes agissant distinctement et l'un sur l'autre. Il y a toujours à gagner dans les écrits de ceux qui ont peint la nature ressemblante. Prévost avait vu la division de l'esprit et du cœur, il parle souvent d'une manière conséquente à ce principe.⁴⁸

En constatant que les deux systèmes agissent l'un sur l'autre, Beyle s'inspire sans doute du passage suivant de l'*Introduction*, qui se trouve immédiatement après la description des cinq sens et de la tête et du cœur :

Ces sept organes principaux formant avec le reste du corps le système complet de nos sens, ont tous entre eux et avec les diverses parties qui le composent, les plus étroites relations ; ils agissent et réagissent les uns sur les autres, ils se communiquent leurs émotions, et ce n'est que de leur réunion que résulte vraiment et complètement le *moi humain*, le système de nos sensations et de nos facultés, l'*âme* en un mot.⁴⁹

Il semble donc indubitable que c'est Lancelin qui confirme Beyle dans l'idée d'étudier l'homme d'après la grande division du cœur et de

⁴⁸ R. 302, liasse, feuillet isolé ; *Pensées*, I, 232-33.

⁴⁹ *Introduction*, I, 46.

l'esprit. Ce fragment est d'autant plus important qu'il renferme en germe presque toutes les données du système psychologique de Stendhal, la distinction entre le cœur et la tête, entre les sentiments et les idées, et l'influence réciproque des deux centres.

Le 21 floréal (11 mai), Beyle, anxieux de former l'esprit de sa sœur Pauline, lui écrit pour lui faire part des vérités qu'il vient de recueillir chez Lancelin :

Je crois, et je te le démontrerai par la suite, que tout malheur ne vient que d'erreur, et que tout bonheur nous est procuré par la vérité : faisons donc tous nos efforts pour connaître cette vérité. Les divers sens que nous attachons aux mots dont nous nous servons souvent, sont une grande source d'erreurs. Attachons-nous donc à voir ce que disent ces mots. Fais donc bien vite un cahier d'applications, ne prononce jamais le mot de *vertu*, sans te dire *tout ce qui est utile au plus grand nombre*. Le mot éducation, art de former la tête (ou l'esprit) de l'homme et son âme (ou le centre de ses volontés), en donnant à l'un et à l'autre le meilleur (le plus utile au plus grand nombre) développement possible.⁵⁰

C'est en décomposant la tête et le cœur de l'homme en parties distinctes et en les analysant à l'aide d'une nomenclature rigoureuse que Lancelin s'efforçait de former les éléments d'une science exacte.⁵¹ Sa méthode exposée, il en soulignait l'utilité :

Les vrais fondemens de l'intelligence étant une fois posés d'une manière aussi stable, il ne restera plus d'asile aux erreurs et aux préjugés coupés dans leur racine : on fera de la métaphysique comme on fait de la géométrie, et l'instruction et l'éducation (ou l'art de former, j'ai presque dit, de *construire* la tête et le cœur de l'homme, en donnant à l'un et à l'autre le meilleur développement possible) pourront être assujetties à des règles simples et intelligibles pour tout le monde.⁵²

Comme on le voit, Lancelin ne disait pas précisément « que tout malheur ne vient que d'erreur, et que tout bonheur est procuré par la vérité », mais cette conséquence s'imposait. Il a attiré l'attention de Beyle sur cette source d'erreur : les mots dont la signification n'est pas rigoureusement déterminée ; et il lui a donné une définition de l'éducation.⁵³

A sa sœur Pauline, Beyle conseille ensuite de prendre l'habitude de bien déterminer la signification des mots, ce qui lui permettra un jour

⁵⁰ *Correspondance*, I, 178-79.

⁵¹ Cf. aussi *Introduction*, Discours préliminaire, I, xvij-xvlij.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. xx.

⁵³ Quant à la définition de la vertu, elle remonte également à Lancelin ; cf. ci-dessus, p. 75.

de comprendre les plus grands hommes: Bacon, Montesquieu, Lancelin, Vauvenargues, etc.⁵⁴ Il lui enverra toutes les définitions qu'il trouvera, et il veut même qu'elle en fasse un cahier. Cette recommandation faite, le jeune précepteur copie plusieurs définitions à l'usage de son élève:

Physique.—Description des propriétés des corps considérés comme insensibles.

Métaphysique.—Description de la génération et des lois de l'intelligence et de la volonté.

Si je disais, en jetant un rossignol au feu: «Cet animal se consume et sent mauvais; le rossignol, vers le milieu du printemps, chante tout le jour et presque toute la nuit; on suppose que c'est pour amuser sa femelle qui couve.»

La première phrase serait de physique, la seconde de métaphysique.⁵⁵

Cette distinction repose sur le passage suivant de l'*Introduction*:

L'analyse du grand corps de l'univers et de celui des sciences qui en dérive peut, comme celle du corps humain, se diviser en deux parties: La *physique* qui montre les éléments, les propriétés et les lois de la matière, et comprend la *théorie complète des corps considérés comme inanimés ou insensibles*; et la *métaphysique*, qui développe la génération et les lois de l'intelligence et de la volonté, et embrasse l'*analyse générale des corps animés ou sensibles*.⁵⁶

Le 18 prairial (7 juin),⁵⁷ Beyle signale à Pauline la distinction dont il fera la base de la «Filosofia nova»: «J'appelle *cœur* le centre des sentiments (désirs, peines, plaisirs, etc., etc.) et *tête* ou *cerveau* le centre

⁵⁴ *Correspondance*, I, 179.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 179–80.

⁵⁶ *Introduction*, Discours préliminaire, I, xxiv, en note. Il est à remarquer que Beyle dit «description» au lieu d'«analyse», mais ces termes sont à peu près identiques. En faisant cette substitution, Beyle s'inspire peut-être d'une discussion de Lancelin, où il est question de l'opération de l'esprit qu'on appelle classer. Après avoir affirmé qu'une définition est une «analyse plus ou moins exacte», Lancelin ajoutait qu'il ne suffit pas de savoir classer les objets pour les connaître; «pour cela, il faut savoir en faire une description exacte, ou une analyse aussi complète qu'il est possible» (*ibid.*, I, 148–49).

⁵⁷ Entre le 21 floréal (11 mai) et le 18 prairial (7 juin), il n'y a rien d'absolument précis à relever. Mais l'annotation suivante, datée du 27 floréal (17 mai) pourrait bien être un emprunt: «C'est une bien grande folie de mettre son bonheur dans des jouissances contradictoires. Je veux travailler et aller dans le monde, cela est absolument impossible» («Premier cahier. Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 2; *Pensées*, I, 244–45). Lancelin s'est beaucoup occupé du bonheur dans la deuxième partie de son *Introduction*. Selon lui, les excès en ce qui concerne les plaisirs physiques diminuent les forces intellectuelles et morales et écartent du but ceux qui aspirent à la gloire: «En un mot il ne faut pas, en fait de bonheur comme dans tout le reste, vouloir des choses inconciliables et contradictoires» (*Introduction*, II, 292). Tandis que Beyle pense aux plaisirs mondains, Lancelin songe aux plaisirs physiques, mais l'idée essentielle est la même chez tous les deux. Cette manière d'aller à la chasse au bonheur ressemble assez à celle que Beyle découvrira bientôt chez Destutt de Tracy: selon ce dernier, l'art d'être heureux «consiste presque uniquement... à éviter de former des désirs contradictoires; puisque ce sont des sujets certains de chagrin...» (*Éléments d'idéologie* [Paris: Courcier, an XIII—1804], I, 77).

des idées»; il se propose d'ailleurs de revenir sur cette idée, «qui est un flambeau qui éclaire bien dans la connaissance de l'homme»; et après avoir demandé à sa sœur de lui envoyer deux ou trois «caractères» de ses anciennes compagnes d'école, il ajoute qu'il «ne découvre dans les femmes que vanité, et puis vanité, et toujours vanité (orgueil sur les petites choses)». ⁵⁸ C'est Lancelin qui lui a fourni cette définition de la vanité: «La vanité est une sorte d'orgueil que donnent la jouissance des petites choses, des petits talents, d'un petit mérite, et la possession d'un grand nombre d'objets extérieurs dont on se sert pour suppléer, par beaucoup d'étalage et d'enflure, au défaut d'un mérite réel». ⁵⁹

Trois jours après, dans une autre lettre à Pauline, Beyle insiste encore sur l'importance de bien décrire l'homme moral: «L'homme moral se divise en *cœur* ou centre des passions, et en *tête* ou centre de combinaisons et de jugements». ⁶⁰ Dans cette même lettre, il recommande à sa sœur de faire un cahier pour classer ses observations:

Voici un travail qui est le plus utile de tous et que je t'engage à commencer le 26 prairial: tu feras la liste des vertus et des vices et comme ceci:

Ambition	Intrépidité
Envie	Patience
Colère	Magnanimité (Scaevola se brûle la main Vertot, chap. xviii, page 512) ⁶¹

Comme de coutume, Beyle ne fait là qu'imposer à son élève un travail qu'il voulait lui-même entreprendre. Il venait justement de noter pour son propre usage: «Faire un cahier de 200 pages environ. Le diviser en parties de 10 pages, à la tête de chacune de ces parties, copier le nom

⁵⁸ *Correspondance*, I, 186. Cf. aussi, pp. 187-88, 190, 195, 197.

⁵⁹ *Introduction*, II, 22. Vers cette époque, Beyle s'intéresse beaucoup à la vanité et met à contribution tout ce qu'il découvre sur cette passion. Dans une lettre à Pauline, datée du 21 floréal [11 mai] (déjà citée parce qu'elle renferme plusieurs emprunts à Lancelin), il décrit ainsi cette passion: «La vanité est le signe le plus certain de la petitesse: Cicéron, le cardinal de Retz ont été vains, et cela fait que beaucoup de gens leur refusent le titre de grands hommes, qu'ils méritent cependant» (*Correspondance*, I, 180). C'est Vauvenargues qui lui dicte cette remarque: «Rien ne présente les hommes si petits à l'imagination, rien ne les fait paraître si foibles, que la vanité. Il semble qu'elle soit le sceau de la médiocrité; ce qui n'empêche pas qu'on ait vu d'assez grands génies accusés de cette foiblesse, le cardinal de Retz, Montaigne, Cicéron, etc. Aussi leur a-t-on disputé le titre de grands hommes, et non sans beaucoup de raison» («Fragmens», p. 148). Dans son *Introduction* à la connaissance de l'esprit humain, Vauvenargues remarquait déjà que la vanité renferme l'idée de petitesse (p. 58). Il est probable que Beyle s'inspire des deux auteurs.

⁶⁰ *Correspondance*, I, 183. Cette lettre que M. Martineau date «Mai 1804», semble, d'après une démonstration inédite communiquée par M. Vigneron, devoir être datée du 21 prairial an XII [10 juin 1804].

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

d'une passion (d'après le petit traité de Lancelin) et indiquer dans les dix pages les traits de cette passion qu'on a occasion d'observer ou de lire dans l'histoire, et dans une classe à part ceux qu'on lit dans les fictions (poèmes, romans).⁶² La définition de la vanité que Beyle avait insérée dans sa lettre du 18 prairial (7 juin) et ce projet indiquent qu'entre cette première date et le 21 prairial (10 juin), Beyle avait rouvert le tome II de l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*, car c'est dans le chapitre premier de cette œuvre que se trouvaient à la fois la définition de la vanité et ce que Beyle appelle «le petit traité de Lancelin».⁶³

Mais ce n'était pas seulement en dépouillant les livres que Beyle se préparait à la carrière dramatique. Le soir même (21 prairial), après avoir assisté à une représentation du *Cid*, il note sévèrement: «Il y a plusieurs choses à corriger dans le *Cid*: les Stances de la fin du premier acte ne sont que l'expression de la tête d'un homme sur les mouvements de son cœur, cela montre qu'il n'est pas entièrement troublé».⁶⁴ Ce n'est peut-être pas chez Lancelin que Beyle trouve l'idée banale que qui juge sa passion n'en est pas entièrement possédé, mais c'est bien l'auteur de l'*Introduction* qui l'aide à mieux observer l'action réciproque des deux centres.⁶⁵

Le 24 prairial (13 juin), il songe encore à mettre sa division à contribution au profit de son art: «Pousser ma discussion du cœur et de la tête. Décrire le modèle idéal en cœur et en tête 1° du héros des républicains; 2° du héros des meilleures sociétés de Paris».⁶⁶ Vers la même

⁶² *Pensées*, I, 199. Ce projet (R. 302, double feuillet isolé non daté, fol. 2v) se trouve bien au verso du dernier feuillet des extraits de Vauvenargues; cf. ci-dessus, n. 35. Mais le 1^{er} floréal XII [21 avril 1804] Beyle ne ferme point définitivement Vauvenargues: il le relit encore le 20 floréal (cf. *Journal*, I, 84), le 15 prairial (cf. *Correspondance*, I, 191); il le relira encore en messidor (cf. *Pensées*, II, 117, et *Journal*, I, 151): rien ne permet donc de déterminer avec certitude quand il a fait les extraits en question. Mais, étant donné l'analogie entre le conseil donné à Pauline le 21 prairial et le projet de Beyle lui-même, il paraît plausible d'attribuer à ce projet approximativement la même date qu'au conseil (rectification communiquée par M. Vigneron).

⁶³ Cf. Vigneron, p. 54, n. 63. Comme le signale Beyle, Lancelin commençait par nommer les sentiments en question. Après avoir décrit brièvement «les principaux mouvements, sentiments et affections du cœur humain», il ajoutait: «Mon intention n'est pas d'en faire ici le dénombrement, ni de donner un traité des passions, dont j'ai dû me borner à caractériser les principales». De là le titre que Beyle donne à ce chapitre.

⁶⁴ *Journal*, I, 97-98.

⁶⁵ Comme tous les autres psychologues, Lancelin observait: «Tout homme occupé d'une passion forte est, tant qu'elle dure, incapable de se livrer à toute autre réflexion et occupation étrangère: de là le despotisme de l'amour, la tyrannie du chagrin, de la peur, etc.» (*Introduction*, I, 56.)

⁶⁶ «Premier cahier. Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 27v, cahier daté du 27 floréal an XII [17 mai 1804], note du 24 prairial an XII [13 juin 1804]; *Pensées*, I, 302.

date, il établit plusieurs divisions «qui peuvent aider dans la recherche des règles de la plus parfaite comédie»:

Les personnages peints par les poètes et les historiens

1° ne sont odieux que par le cœur et jamais par la tête;

2° ne sont ridicules que par la tête et jamais par le cœur.⁶⁷

Après avoir démontré que c'est uniquement par leur «tête» que les personnages d'une pièce sont ridicules et qu'ils n'en sont pas moins capables d'une action héroïque, Beyle ajoute: «Chercher dans les recueils d'anecdotes les actions propres à éprouver le cœur et la tête, alors je verrai si tel caractère y passe bien».⁶⁸ Toutes ces discussions, qui ont pour point de départ la distinction entre le cœur et la tête, aideront Beyle à se faire une idée nette du ridicule.

Quelques jours après, il donne à Pauline des conseils sur l'art de vivre, car, à son avis, ce n'est pas une étude facile que celle du monde: «La science du monde est si difficile! Par cette raison, on n'en peut rien apprendre dans les livres; au contraire, plus on lit, plus on se gâte. Il faut raisonner juste, et alors six mois d'usage et de bons conseils forment».⁶⁹ Il y a une certaine analogie entre les conseils que Beyle donne à sa sœur et les préceptes que Lancelin voudrait inculquer à son élève idéal. Selon ce dernier, la prudence, ou l'art d'appliquer une raison bien formée à tous les cas de la vie, est la plus utile des qualités chez un jeune homme; il faut, par conséquent, l'habituer à raisonner constamment ses procédés et ses démarches. De là, Lancelin conclut: «La science du monde et des affaires est si compliquée, si variable, si assujettie aux cas particuliers, aux circonstances, au caractère des individus, qu'il est impossible de donner là-dessus des règles; c'est un problème qui se résout à mesure que l'on vit: or pour apprendre à bien jouer le grand jeu de la vie, il faut beaucoup pratiquer soi-même, voir beaucoup de sociétés, observer tout avec attention, et tenir note de ses observations».⁷⁰ Remarquons que Beyle, comme

⁶⁷ «Premier cahier. Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 27v; *Pensées*, I, 303.

⁶⁸ «Premier cahier. Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 27v; *Pensées*, I, 303-4. Pour le reste de 1804, nous nous bornerons à citer les textes que nous croyons indispensables au développement de notre exposé. Pour d'autres textes où Beyle fait intervenir la distinction entre le cœur et la tête, cf. *Pensées*, I, 269, 278, 321; II, 28, 46-52, 69, 93, 98, 105-7, 117-18, 132-34, 156, 163-67, 179-84, 187-90, 212-15, 220-22, 229-32, 290-91, 334, 344-45; *Correspondance*, I, 227; *Journal*, I, 120, 133, 150.

⁶⁹ Lettre à Pauline, datée «Prairial an XII [juin 1804]», *Correspondance*, I, 198. D'après une démonstration inédite communiquée par M. Vigneron, cette lettre est postérieure au 21 prairial XII (10 juin 1804) et antérieure au 6 messidor an XII (25 juin 1804).

⁷⁰ *Introduction*, II, 125-27.

Lancelin, fait ressortir la difficulté de la science du monde et qu'ils rejettent tous les deux les livres et recommandent l'expérience et le raisonnement.

Mais ses préoccupations sur l'art de vivre sont d'une importance minime par rapport à sa grande passion: le désir d'écrire une parfaite comédie. Dès la fin d'avril 1803, il rangeait sous le titre «Du rire» une définition de cette «passion», car il estimait que pour égaler ou même surpasser Molière, il lui fallait d'abord «rechercher les causes du rire». Ce qui l'avait porté, à cette époque, à prendre cette résolution c'était la découverte, dans un numéro du *Spectateur*, d'une description du rire, extraite du *Discours sur la nature humaine* de Hobbes.⁷¹ Plus d'un an après, le 19 prairial an XII (8 juin 1804), il prenait de nouveau la résolution de découvrir les causes du rire: en feuilletant le livre de l'*Esprit*, il était tombé sur une anecdote plaisante; il prit aussitôt la plume et, sous le titre «Du rire», il nota: «Voici une anecdote comique à analyser».⁷² Se souvenant peut-être de l'avis qu'il avait donné le 21 floréal (11 mai) à Pauline de recueillir toutes les bonnes définitions qui lui tomberaient sous la main, Beyle note le 20 prairial (9 juin): «Avant tout, définir ces mots: rire; ridicule; comique; plaisant; charge; intérêt; odieux».⁷³ Effectivement, il ne tarde pas à ouvrir le *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* et à copier la définition des mots en question.⁷⁴ Le 25 prairial (14 juin) il revient à la charge et note à propos «Du rire»: «Analyser l'effet que produisent sur nous les bonnes comédies».⁷⁵ Le lendemain il trouve enfin le livre qu'il lui faut pour comprendre le rire: *De la nature humaine* de Hobbes, et il commence immédiatement à en faire de nombreux extraits.⁷⁶

Mais le vif intérêt qu'il prend désormais à Hobbes ne l'empêche pas de continuer à tirer parti de l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*. Remarquons que Beyle s'intéresse de plus en plus aux bonnes définitions

⁷¹ «Pensées», cahier daté du 30 germinal an XI (20 avril 1803), fol. 8v; *Pensées*, I, 117. Cf. aussi «Pensées», cahier daté du 30 germinal an XI (20 avril 1803), fol. 1; *Pensées*, I, 93-94.

⁷² *Pensées*, I, 299. Cf. *De l'esprit* (éd. de 1758), Dis. II, chap. viii, p. 96, en note: Beyle se trompe d'une page.

⁷³ «Premier cahier. Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 26v; *Pensées*, I, 300.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 27; pp. 301-2. Ce fragment et le précédent ont dû être rédigés vers la même date car ils ont trait au même sujet et se suivent dans les manuscrits.

⁷⁵ «Art dramatique», R. 5896, t. XXIV, cahier daté du 25 prairial an XII (14 juin 1804), fol. 67; *Pensées*, II, 171.

⁷⁶ «Premier cahier. Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, fol. 12v, note du 26 prairial an XII (15 juin 1804); *Pensées*, I, 266. Cf. Vigneron, pp. 54-55.

et qu'il emploie, à deux reprises, le terme «analyser». Il se rendait compte, vers cette époque, que l'analyse était la seule méthode qui pût le guider dans ses recherches sur l'homme et sur la comédie. Aussi note-t-il à la fin de deux feuillets isolés renfermant des extraits de Hobbes: «Chercher à me donner le pouvoir de l'analyse. Ce sera un grand pas qu'aura fait mon esprit. J'aurai le pouvoir d'analyse lorsque me faisant des questions: qu'est-ce que le rire? qu'est-ce que la faim? qu'est-ce que le remords? je pourrai répondre exactement». ⁷⁷ Sous le titre «L'Analyse, méthode universelle», Lancelin expliquait cette méthode et en constatait l'utilité. Il appelle analyse, ou méthode analytique, «cette double opération par laquelle nous composons et décomposons nos idées complexes et les divers systèmes de nos connaissances; elle enveloppe toutes les diverses opérations de l'esprit». C'est par l'analyse, qui consiste à séparer et à classer ses idées, que l'homme apprend à penser avec justesse, à développer ses facultés, et à enfanter des œuvres parfaites; l'analyse s'applique à toutes les connaissances, car ce n'est qu'à l'aide de cette méthode que nous pouvons acquérir des idées nettes de tout; les signes, quand ils représentent exactement les objets auxquels ils se rapportent, augmentent immensément le pouvoir de l'analyse et permettent à l'homme de l'élever «à toutes sortes de connaissances». ⁷⁸ Ce texte est capital puisqu'il prouve que c'est bien Lancelin, et non pas Destutt de Tracy, qui a initié Beyle à la méthode analytique.

Après avoir constaté le pouvoir de l'analyse, seul moyen d'arriver

⁷⁷ *Pensées*, I, 36. Cette annotation ne fait point partie, comme on pourrait le croire, du cahier «Pensées sur différents sujets» commencé le 16 frimaire an XI [7 décembre 1802]: elle se trouve à la fin de deux feuillets isolés de R. 302, non numérotés et non datés, renfermant des extraits de Hobbes; elle est donc nécessairement postérieure au 26 prairial XII [15 juin 1804] (rectification communiquée par M. Vigneron).

⁷⁸ *Introduction*, I, 152-56. Lancelin s'occupe encore «De la vraie métaphysique, ou analyse universelle» au début de l'*Introduction* (Discours préliminaire, I, xx-xxix). L'extrait suivant de ce passage avait de quoi frapper Beyle: «Non-seulement elle offre l'histoire philosophique des arts mécaniques; elle cherche encore dans les arts libéraux (la musique, la peinture, la sculpture, la poésie, etc.) ce qui constitue le beau, et fixe les règles du bon goût, en faisant voir pourquoi et comment une chose nous plaît ou doit nous plaire dans chacun d'eux: comme dans les sciences elle analyse la raison et la vérité, en analysant les sensations, les idées, le jugement et le raisonnement qui leur donnent naissance; en montrant pourquoi et comment l'on juge, l'on raisonne, l'on parle, l'on écrit, l'on s'exprime avec précision; comment enfin, en maniant toujours avec exactitude une langue exacte ou bien faite, l'on ne quitte jamais la ligne de l'évidence, de la certitude et du vrai» (*ibid.*, p. xxvii). Enfin, Lancelin fait encore l'éloge de la «Vraie métaphysique ou vraie philosophie ou analyse universelle» dans la dernière colonne du «Tableau synoptique des connoissances humaines» qu'il place à la fin du tome III de l'*Introduction* (c'est M. Vigneron qui a bien voulu nous signaler ces textes ainsi que leur portée).

à la vérité, Beyle cherche à se prémunir contre l'erreur. A cet effet, il note, vers le début de messidor :

Il ne faut jamais généraliser le fait dont on tire une conséquence. C'est s'exposer à de grandes erreurs lorsque je puiserai des pensées dans mes cahiers.

Par exemple, quand je songe à une action de mon père il faut dire *mon père* et non pas un père. A moins que je fasse suivre ce nom de toutes les circonstances qui rendent mon père différent des autres pères, qu'il a 58 ans, qu'il aime l'agriculture, etc., etc.⁷⁹

Au tome III de l'*Introduction*, dans le tableau intitulé «Monde imaginaire et produits irréguliers de la force pensante», Lancelin notait, parmi les causes des écarts de l'esprit humain, sous le numéro 4^e : «Trop généraliser des observations ou des faits particuliers».⁸⁰ C'est apparemment ce paragraphe qui a inspiré Beyle.

Pourvu d'une bonne méthode et éclairé par la lecture du livre *De la nature humaine*, qu'il termine le 3 messidor (22 juin), Beyle se met à rédiger, le lendemain, sa «Filosofia nova».⁸¹ A la tête d'un «Premier cahier» de ce traité psychologique, il commence par signaler l'importance de classer les «qualités» de l'homme d'après la distinction entre le cœur et la tête : «Parcourir toutes les qualités de l'homme (triste, gai, doux, irascible, etc., etc.) les assigner au cœur ou à la tête».⁸² Mais cette classification n'est bonne que si Beyle ne s'est pas trompé en établissant sa grande distinction entre les deux centres. Aussi note-t-il avec plaisir que le livre de Hobbes renferme «la div[ision] qui fait la base» de sa philosophie nouvelle : «L'homme est composé 1° d'un corps; 2° d'une tête ou centre de combinaisons; 3° d'un cœur ou âme, centre de passions».⁸³ Ainsi donc, Lancelin, Vauvenargues, et Hobbes confirment chez Beyle la résolution d'étudier l'homme d'après la distinction entre le cœur et la tête. Mais l'auteur du livre *De la nature humaine*

⁷⁹ «Mes pensées», R. 5896, t. XVII, cahier daté du 27 floréal an XII [17 mai 1804], fol. 14; *Pensées*, I, 269-70. Cette remarque est reprise en termes presque identiques dans une lettre à Pauline (*Correspondance*, I, 205), que M. Martineau date «[Juin] 1804», mais qui ne aurait être antérieure au 27 prairial an XII [16 juin 1804] et que l'on pourrait peut-être plausiblement dater du début de messidor (ce rapprochement et cette rectification nous ont été communiqués par M. Vigneron).

⁸⁰ *Introduction*, III, premier tableau.

⁸¹ Cf. Vigneron, pp. 54-55.

⁸² «Premier cahier. Filosofia nova», R. 5896, t. XXIV, cahier daté de messidor an XII, fol. 2; *Pensées*, II, 117.

⁸³ «Premier cahier. Filosofia nova», R. 5896, t. XXIV, cahier daté de messidor an XII, fol. 3; *Pensées*, II, 119-20. Cf. Vigneron, pp. 54-55.

signale en outre au futur disciple de Cabanis l'importance du corps, que Beyle avait plus ou moins négligé jusqu'ici.⁸⁴

Le lendemain 5 messidor (24 juin), Beyle continue à élaborer l'esquisse de la «*Filosofia nova*». Reprenant le problème qu'il avait abordé le 4 floréal (24 avril), en rédigeant, sous l'inspiration de Lancelin, un premier plan de sa «*Philosophie nouvelle*», il note: «Le difficile est de décrire exactement la manière dont l'âme agit sur la tête».⁸⁵ En voulant «décrire exactement» cette opération, Beyle se souvient probablement des conseils de Lancelin, qui souligne, à maintes reprises, la nécessité d'analyser, ou de décrire exactement.⁸⁶ Toujours est-il que le 11 messidor (30 juin), quand Beyle se remettra à étudier l'âme, ou centre des passions, il emploiera la méthode analytique: «M'occuper tout de suite de l'analyse de chaque passion. Cela me rendra plus facile à décrire l'action de l'âme sur la tête et de la tête sur l'âme».⁸⁷

Afin de résoudre ce grand problème, Beyle hasarde l'hypothèse «que toutes les habitudes sont dans le corps ou dans la tête»,⁸⁸ et il reprend, à ce propos, les classifications qu'il avait faites en floréal et en fructidor an XI: «Commencer par une bonne division des passions, états de passion, habitudes, etc.»⁸⁹ Les premières tentatives de Beyle pour réaliser ce projet ne renferment point d'emprunts à Lancelin: en les rédigeant, Beyle s'inspire surtout de Hobbes.⁹⁰ Mais sur un feuillet isolé, de petit format, il semble encore avoir recours à Lancelin: il commence par définir l'âme: «L'âme est l'ensemble des passions»; et plus bas il ajoute: «1° Certaines passions ont l'habitude d'en vaincre d'autres, dès qu'elles sont réveillées par certaines sensations ou souvenirs. J'appelle cela habitudes de l'âme. Ces habitudes renferment les vices et les vertus. J'en fais la liste.»⁹¹ Comme nous l'avons vu, c'est à Lancelin que Beyle a emprunté, le 30 fructidor an XI (17 septembre 1803), l'idée que les passions durables et énergiques deviennent

⁸⁴ «Premier cahier. *Filosofia nova*», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 3; *Pensées*, II, 120. Dans ce même fragment, il dit que tous les métaphysiciens se sont occupés de la tête, et il mentionne, à ce propos, Lancelin.

⁸⁵ «Premier cahier. *Filosofia nova*», fol. 4v; *Pensées*, II, 122.

⁸⁶ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 81 et n. 56.

⁸⁷ «Premier cahier. *Filosofia nova*», fol. 9v; *Pensées*, II, 133.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ «Premier cahier. *Filosofia nova*», fol. 9v; *Pensées*, II, 133; cf. Vigneron, p. 55.

⁹⁰ Cf. Vigneron, pp. 55-56.

⁹¹ R. 302, feuillet isolé, non daté. Cf. Vigneron, p. 56.

des vices ou des vertus selon qu'elles sont nuisibles ou utiles.⁹² Beyle définit ensuite les états de l'âme et annonce qu'il en fait la liste.⁹³

Sur une série de feuillets intitulés «De l'âme», il dresse effectivement plusieurs listes renfermant d'abord les «Passions» et ensuite les «Etats de passion». Nous trouvons parmi ces derniers la joie, la gaieté, l'allégresse, la tristesse, l'inquiétude.⁹⁴ Comme nous l'avons indiqué ci-dessus, Beyle a trouvé cette liste de sentiments dans l'*Introduction*. Au-dessus de la liste des passions, il reproduit encore une définition empruntée à Lancelin: «Les passions utiles sont vices, les nuisibles vertus».⁹⁵ Au verso de ce même feuillet, sous le titre «Vertus habitudes utiles», Beyle mentionne la clémence, la justice, la modestie,⁹⁶ à la dernière desquelles Lancelin consacrait à peu près une page de son *Introduction*.⁹⁷ A droite, sous le titre «Etats de l'âme», Beyle note: «Joie il y en a plusieurs espèces et degrés allégresse gaieté».⁹⁸ C'est Lancelin encore une fois qui a signalé à Beyle les nuances de la joie.⁹⁹

Sur un autre feuillet, Beyle reprend encore une fois la définition du vice et de la vertu en y ajoutant une nuance: «Il y a des habitudes nuisibles ou utiles qui ont été nommées Vices ou Vertus (défauts et qualités)».¹⁰⁰ Au-dessous de cette définition, et sous la rubrique «Habitudes utiles vertus», Beyle range la clémence, la justice, la modestie, la bienveillance, la générosité, l'économie, la bienfaisance, la sagesse, la prudence, la tempérance.¹⁰¹ A côté de quelques-unes de ces habitudes, il place le mot «qualité» ou l'initiale *q*. La plupart de ces habitudes utiles, vertus, ou qualités, ainsi que l'ordre dans lequel Beyle les énumère, remontent à l'*Introduction*.¹⁰² Quant aux «Habitudes nuisibles vices», Beyle en cite deux qu'il a recueillies chez Lan-

⁹² Cf. ci-dessus, p. 75. Lancelin reprenait cette même idée ailleurs: «Nos passions ne sont ... que des habitudes de désirs et de jouissances; les bonnes habitudes ou nos vertus et nos bonnes qualités ne sont que nos passions bien réglées et dirigées vers notre plus grand bien et celui de la société (comme nos mauvaises habitudes ou les vices ne sont que ces mêmes facultés mal réglées et soumises à une direction contraire au bien public et à notre bien-être particulier)» (*Introduction*, II, 74).

⁹³ R. 302, feuillet isolé, non daté.

⁹⁴ «De l'âme», R. 302, feuillet isolé, non numéroté, daté du 11 messidor an XII [30 juin 1804]. Cf. Vigneron, p. 57, n. 72.

⁹⁵ «De l'âme», R. 302, feuillet isolé, non numéroté, daté du 11 messidor an XII [30 juin 1804].

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, verso.

⁹⁷ II, 21-22.

⁹⁸ «De l'âme», R. 302, feuillet isolé, non numéroté, daté du 11 messidor an XII [30 juin 1804].

⁹⁹ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 74.

¹⁰⁰ R. 5896, t. XV, fol. 166r, non daté. Cf. Vigneron, p. 57, n. 73.

¹⁰¹ R. 5896, t. XV, fol. 166.

¹⁰² Cf. ci-dessus, p. 75.

celin: la cruauté et l'inhumanité.¹⁰³ Enfin, il emploie une catégorie spéciale pour les «Défauts», mais le seul d'entre eux qui figure dans l'*Introduction* est la prodigalité.¹⁰⁴ Au verso de ce même feuillet, Beyle signale les «Etats de l'âme» et ne retient de Lancelin que l'égoïsme.¹⁰⁵

Ainsi donc, en ce qui concerne Lancelin, cette nouvelle étude reproduit à peu près celle entreprise par Beyle le 30 fructidor an XI (17 septembre 1803). Il est à remarquer, cependant, que Beyle y ajoute deux nouvelles catégories—les défauts et les qualités. Il importe de noter également qu'en dépit du vif intérêt que Beyle prend à Hobbes, il n'abandonne pas les apports de Lancelin.

Le 12 messidor (1^{er} juillet), Beyle rédige une «Description des différentes manières dont l'amour-propre se modifie dans chaque passion, état de passion, habitude de l'âme, etc., etc.»¹⁰⁶ Comme le signale M. Vignerot,¹⁰⁷ cette description reproduit presque textuellement certains passages du livre de Hobbes. Elle se termine par une étude de la volonté, à propos de laquelle Beyle aborde encore une fois le grand problème qui occupe son esprit depuis le début de 1804: «Nos volontés suivent nos opinions, voilà bien la tête influant sur l'âme ou le cœur. De quelle manière? Et quand? Quand j'aurai bien décrit la tête et le cœur il ne me restera plus que ce problème à résoudre pour avoir achevé de trouver les idées de la *filosofia nova*».¹⁰⁸

Aussi reprend-il cette idée le 14 messidor (3 juillet). Parmi les fragments qu'il rédige ce jour-là, il s'en trouve un intitulé «Plan», où Beyle note: «Quand j'aurai décrit (le mieux qu'il me sera possible) l'âme, la tête et résolu ce problème: quelle est l'influence de l'âme sur la tête et de la tête sur l'âme (une passion règne et donne telle habitude à la tête, c'est-à-dire, lui faisant faire telle action, elle la lui rend plus facile. Voilà l'âme influant sur la tête. Maintenant la passion régnante change: le moi ordonne à la tête de faire cette opération, cette opération

¹⁰³ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 75, et *Introduction*, II, 30-31: «L'inhumanité portée à l'excès prend le nom de *cruauté*».

¹⁰⁴ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 75. Toute la colonne de droite intitulée «Habitudes nuisibles vices» et plus bas «Défauts» est biffée de haut en bas.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 75.

¹⁰⁶ «2^e cahier. *Filosofia nova*», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 20-24, notes intitulées «Description des différentes manières dont l'amour-propre se modifie dans chaque passion, état de passion, habitude de l'âme, etc., etc.», datées du 12 messidor an XII [1^{er} juillet 1804]; *Pensées*, II, 148-56.

¹⁰⁷ Pp. 57-58.

¹⁰⁸ «2^e cahier. *Filosofia nova*», R. 5896, fol. 24; *Pensées*, II, 156.

est plus ou moins aidée ou retardée par les habitudes de la tête. Voilà la tête influant sur l'âme. Elle influe encore en altérant les souvenirs que l'âme prend pour vrais; etc.)? Quand, dis-je, j'aurai fait ces trois choses, et que toutes mes pensées seront bien reconnues pour vraies, exprimées bien clairement, il me restera à résoudre le problème de la forme.¹⁰⁹

Un peu plus loin, il indique ainsi le but qu'il se propose en publiant la «*Filosofia nova*»: «*Bien me souvenir qu'il faut tout sacrifier au mérite réel de la f[ilosofia] n[ova] qui est de montrer des vérités, d'après ce grand principe que tout malheur vient d'ignorer ou d'avoir ignoré la vérité.*»¹¹⁰ Notons, à ce propos, que Beyle ne fait là que reprendre, presque dans les mêmes termes, l'avis qu'il avait donné, le 21 floréal (11 mai), à Pauline et qu'il avait lui-même emprunté à Lancelin.¹¹¹

Mais, pour n'être pas tout à fait satisfait de l'esquisse de son petit traité psychologique, Beyle n'en abandonne pas les idées directrices: le 18 messidor (7 juillet), il les communique à sa sœur. Il lui donne d'abord un exemple pour lui montrer comment la «*tête agit sur le cœur*», et il ne manque pas de se féliciter d'être parmi le très petit nombre de ceux qui sont capables d'analyser ainsi leurs sentiments. Puis il signale à Pauline «*l'influence de la tête sur le cœur*», en lui faisant observer qu'un «*défaut d'esprit*» peut empêcher les meilleurs plans de réussir. Mais ce ne sont là que des préliminaires: il lui rappelle ensuite que l'homme est «*composé de trois parties: 1° le corps; 2° l'âme ou le centre des passions; 3° la tête ou le centre des combinaisons.*» Cette distinction est la plus commode pour étudier l'homme, et Pauline doit «*observer dans chaque individu l'âme et la tête.*» Après quoi, Beyle ajoute: «*Le corps et la tête sont les valets de l'âme, et l'âme obéit elle-même au moi*»¹¹² qui est le désir du bonheur. Le corps et la tête, à force de faire la même chose, la font plus facilement: cela

¹⁰⁹ «*Pensées*», R. 302, liasse, feuillets isolés, non numérotés, notes datées du 14 messidor an XII [3 juillet 1804], fol. [2v]; *Pensées*, II, 261-62.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

¹¹¹ Cf. ci-dessus, p. 81.

¹¹² Il est à remarquer que Lancelin emploie, à plusieurs reprises, la formule *le moi* pour désigner la partie la plus abstraite de l'être humain. Tout en se gardant bien de déterminer le vrai siège de l'âme, Lancelin observe: «*1°. que cette âme, produit de nos sensations, est répandue dans toutes les parties du corps sensible; 2°. qu'il existe en nous plusieurs centres particuliers de sensibilité (tels que le cerveau, le cœur, les organes de la génération, etc.); 3°. qu'il y a un centre général et commun, où toutes nos sensations aboutissant et se liant ensemble, sans se confondre, forment ce que j'appelle le moi*» (*Introduction*, I, 4). Cf. aussi *ibid.*, Discours préliminaire, pp. xlvij et 46. Ce dernier texte a été cité ci-dessus, p. 80.

s'appelle prendre une habitude». ¹¹³ Il tâche de rendre sa théorie claire en l'illustrant d'un exemple: «Je suppose qu'une passion règne deux ans chez un homme: la passion cesse, mais les habitudes de la tête et du corps durent. Que cette passion ait été l'amour, que la femme qui l'inspirait portât habituellement un chapeau avec deux touffes d'hortensia (la mode actuelle), qu'il la vît ordinairement au jardin du Luxembourg: [sa passion cessée, cet homme aimera toujours l'hortensia et ses pieds le porteront sans qu'il s'en aperçoive au Luxembourg]: voilà le corps et la tête influant sur l'âme; cela est bien sec, j'en conviens, mais cela mène à tout ce qu'il y a de sublime dans la science de l'homme». ¹¹⁴

Ensuite, Beyle nomme les passions, les états de passions, les moyens de passion, les habitudes de l'âme, les vertus, et les vices; les vertus moins utiles ou qualités, les vices moins nuisibles ou défauts. Parmi les états de passion, il place encore la terreur, la cruauté, la fureur, le rire, les pleurs, la joie, la tristesse, l'inquiétude; et, à propos des habitudes de l'âme, il remarque: «Il y a encore les habitudes de l'âme; il y en a de nuisibles, il y en a d'utiles: nous nommons les utiles, vertus; les nuisibles, vices.—Vertus: justice, clémence, probité, etc., etc.—Vices: cruautés. Et vertus moins utiles ou qualités: modestie, bienfaisance, bienveillance, sagesse, etc.—Vices moins nuisibles ou défauts: fatuité, esprit de contradiction, le menteur, l'impertinence, le mystérieux, la timidité, la distraction, etc.» ¹¹⁵ Il est évident que dans cette lettre Beyle ne fait que résumer à Pauline un chapitre de la *Filosofia nova* et qu'il y introduit, par conséquent, bien des idées empruntées à Lancelin. ¹¹⁶

Beyle termine sa longue lettre en signalant à Pauline une des prin-

¹¹³ *Correspondance*, I, 271-74. M. Vigneron voit dans cette lettre, datée par M. Martineau «An XIII (1804)», la suite de la lettre du 18 messidor an XII; cf. p. 58, n. 77.

¹¹⁴ *Correspondance*, I, 274. Le passage entre crochets ne se trouve pas dans la *Correspondance*, à l'endroit indiqué. Il est cité par M. Martineau parmi les «Errata et compléments»: cf. *Table alphabétique des noms cités dans l'édition de ses œuvres* (Paris: Divan, 1937), I, 88. En soulignant ainsi l'importance de l'habitude, Beyle a peut-être eu recours au passage suivant de l'*Introduction*: «L'action de tous les objets sur les organes, se transmet régulièrement au cerveau, point central de leur réunion et principal organe, dont ils paroissent n'être que des ramifications, des dépendances, et, à force de se répéter, lui communiquent toutes les sensations élémentaires qu'il en reçoit; de là le système général de nos idées. Le mouvement et l'impression des objets passe rapidement des organes extérieurs au cerveau, et du cerveau au cœur et autres organes de la sensibilité intérieure; de là les *sentimens moraux* (le plaisir, la douleur, l'amour, la haine, la crainte, l'espérance, etc.): cf. *Introduction*, I, 2-3, et aussi 49-51.

¹¹⁵ *Correspondance*, I, 274-75.

¹¹⁶ Cf. ci-dessus, pp. 89-91.

cipales sources du malheur des hommes: «Songe qu'on voit toujours tous les désagréments de l'état où l'on est, et aucun de ceux de l'état que l'on souhaite: je l'ai éprouvé trois ou quatre fois déjà».¹¹⁷ Lancelin s'exprimait, à ce sujet, d'une manière à peu près analogue en affirmant qu'il faut peu de chose à l'homme pour être heureux, car la nature lui indique les jouissances à sa portée et les plaisirs dus à l'imagination ne compensent pas les peines causées par cette faculté: «Mère des illusions et des préjugés, c'est elle qui, par une sorte d'artifice perfide, ne nous laisse apercevoir dans la condition des autres que ce qu'il y a de bon, et nous cache ce qu'il y a de désagréable; nous montre les plaisirs et les avantages qui y sont attachés, et nous dérobe les désagréments et les peines qui s'y mêlent».¹¹⁸

A partir de cette époque, il devient de plus en plus difficile de dégager chez Beyle l'influence de Lancelin de celle des autres philosophes; cependant, il mentionne encore Lancelin vers le 1^{er} thermidor an XII (20 juillet 1804): après avoir constaté que rien ne serait plus utile qu'une série de livres élémentaires propres à éclairer le peuple, Beyle se souvient, à ce propos, de l'auteur de l'*Introduction*: «Lancelin nous promet les principes vrais des sciences».¹¹⁹

Le 6 thermidor (25 juillet), dans un «Deuxième cahier de pensées», il a encore recours aux termes employés par Lancelin pour désigner les produits du cœur et de la tête de l'homme: il veut que dans une pièce «tous les *sentiments* et *idées*» d'un personnage soient naturels et qu'ils «soient choisis parmi tous les *sentiments* et *idées* naturels de manière à

¹¹⁷ *Correspondance*, I, 275.

¹¹⁸ *Introduction*, II, 295. Mais le germe de cette idée remonte à Helvétius. Dans un cahier où Beyle avait inséré ses «Pensées de Paris» et qu'il datait du 21 thermidor an XI [9 août 1803], il notait: «H. 13. Dans le monde l'orgueil fait que chacun veut paraître heureux, et vante son bonheur. Ce qui fait que chacun, abstrayant d'une condition différente de la sienne les maux qu'il n'y a point éprouvés, envie la condition d'autrui» («Pensées de Paris», R. 5896, t. XXVII, cahier daté du 21 thermidor an XI [9 août 1803], fol. 28 v; *Pensées*, I, 145). L'indigent, disait Helvétius, croit le riche plus heureux que lui parce que, par des abstractions, «il a écarté des richesses tous les soins et les ennuis qui les suivent» (*De l'homme, Œuvres complètes* [éd. de 1781], IV, 238-39); et il ajoutait en note: «Le pouvoir d'abstraire d'une condition différente de la sienne les maux qu'on n'y a point éprouvés, rend toujours l'homme envieux de la condition d'autrui. Que faire pour étouffer en lui une envie si contraire à son bonheur? le désabuser, et lui apprendre que l'homme au-dessus du besoin est à peu près aussi heureux qu'il peut l'être» (*ibid.*, p. 239 n.).

¹¹⁹ «Filosofia nova. Troisième cahier», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 37; *Pensées*, II, 169. Lancelin se proposait effectivement de résoudre, en employant la méthode analytique et les principes établis dans son *Introduction*, trois problèmes: «Le premier a pour but de présenter avec un *maximum* de liaison, de simplicité et de laconisme, les éléments des sciences devant servir de base à l'instruction et à l'éducation, et dont l'ensemble doit former le meilleur cours d'études analytiques et élémentaires» (*Introduction*, I, xlv, n.).

produire le plus certainement possible tel effet sur l'âme de tels spectateurs». ¹²⁰

Pendant le reste de 1804, Beyle continuera à mettre à contribution la distinction et les classifications de la «*Filosofia nova*». Le 7 brumaire an XIII (29 octobre 1804), il recommande une fois de plus à Pauline «d'étudier le cœur et la tête de l'homme». La science de l'homme rendra, à soixante ans, Pauline la femme la plus spirituelle de Paris, et alors le frère et la sœur passeront le reste de leur vie «faisant la liste des passions, vanité, ambition, haine, etc., etc., des états de passions, espérances, jouissance, désespoir». ¹²¹

Dans cette même lettre, Beyle mentionne Destutt de Tracy, qui deviendra, à partir du début de 1805, son maître. ¹²² Mais en novembre 1804, il songe encore à utiliser l'*Introduction*. Persuadé que la lecture des œuvres de Rousseau lui a été nuisible, il cherche un contre-poison: «*Dérousseauiser* mon jugement en lisant Destutt, Tacite, Prévost de Genève, Lancelin». ¹²³

Enfin le nom de Lancelin reparait, pour la dernière fois, dans les écrits de Beyle, le 7 thermidor an XIII (26 juillet 1805): «Lancelin vient de faire une découverte sublime que je t'expliquerai dès que je la connaîtrai par moi-même, elle explique par l'*attraction* seule une grande partie de la création». ¹²⁴ Ce projet n'a pas eu de suites.

Il est douteux que Beyle ait relu l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences* après le début de 1805, mais il continue à tirer parti du système que Lancelin l'avait aidé à ériger. Le 8 germinal an XIII (29 mars 1805), Beyle espère se faire valoir auprès de Mélanie Guilbert en lui écrivant «une lettre de sept à huit pages sur la connaissance des passions, où je montrerai la tête et le cœur, les passions et les états de passion». ¹²⁵ Il a une confiance si illimitée en sa méthode qu'il écrit, le 22 fructidor an XIII (9 septembre 1805), à Pauline pour lui recommander d'exa-

¹²⁰ «Deuxième cahier de pensées», R. 5896, t. XXIV, fol. 51v; *Pensées*, II, 221. Cf. ci-dessus, pp. 78-80. C'est Beyle qui souligne.

¹²¹ *Correspondance*, I, 290-91. Cf. Vigneron, pp. 59-60.

¹²² *Correspondance*, I, 290.

¹²³ *Journal*, I, 89. Cette note, écrite sur la couverture d'un des cahiers de Beyle, a été rédigée au mois de novembre 1804; cf. *ibid.*, Notes et éclaircissements, p. 412.

¹²⁴ *Correspondance*, I, 373. Cette découverte sublime se trouve sans doute dans le nouveau livre de Lancelin, *Théorie physico-mathématique de l'organisation des mondes* (Paris: Crapart, Caille & Ravier, an XIII-1805). La *Revue philosophique, littéraire et politique* en annonce la publication dans son N° 30, 30 messidor an XIII [19 juillet 1805], p. 192.

¹²⁵ *Journal*, II, 120.

miner «pour la vingtième fois l'exposition d'une théorie qui est à la base de toute connaissance: l'étude de la *tête* et du *cœur*, et la théorie du *jugement* et de la *volonté*». ¹²⁶ En relisant, le 9 vendémiaire an XIV (1^{er} octobre 1805), une partie du cahier de la «*Filosofia nova*» qu'il avait rédigé en messidor an XII, Beyle en est peu satisfait; ¹²⁷ mais, comme il le mande à Pauline le lendemain, ce travail renferme des idées vraies: «J'ai lu hier, par hasard, les cahiers que j'écrivais à Paris, en messidor an XII, sur la *tête* et le *cœur*, et la division des passions que je faisais à cette époque. J'ai trouvé ce principe vrai, mais tout le reste gisquet, orgueilleux, vide, peu réfléchi». ¹²⁸

Pendant de longues années, Beyle semble avoir oublié les principes qui faisaient la base de la «*Filosofia nova*», ainsi que les classifications qui en étaient les conséquences et le développement; mais le 11 juillet 1810, ayant lu la *Nosographie philosophique* de Pinel, ¹²⁹ il reprend l'idée qu'il avait eu vers le 10 juin 1804, de faire un cahier où il classerait les passions et les traits de ces passions observés en lisant les historiens et les romanciers: ¹³⁰ «Faire un journal nosographique où j'inscrirai chaque soir, à l'article *Vanité*, les traits vaniteux observés, à l'article *Avarice* les traits d'avarice, enfin sous le titre de chaque passion, état de l'âme, etc., ce que j'aurai observé». ¹³¹

Mais d'autres soins l'empêchent de mettre ce projet à exécution, et ce n'est qu'en 1811 qu'il entreprend encore une fois, de concert avec Louis Crozet, de classer les passions, etc.: le 13 août, sous le titre «Renouveau d'idéologie», il esquisse le plan suivant: «Nous avons résolu d'ouvrir un compte à chaque *passion*, aux *états* dans lesquels

¹²⁶ *Correspondance*, II, 32.

¹²⁷ *Journal*, II, 174; cf. Vigneron, p. 60.

¹²⁸ *Correspondance*, II, 44. Pour la date de cette partie de la lettre cf. Vigneron, p. 60, n. 84.

¹²⁹ Dans un compte rendu de la *Nosographie philosophique ou méthode de l'analyse appliquée à la médecine*, nous trouvons la définition suivante: «Nosographie signifie description, tableau des maladies; et Nosographie philosophique indique l'objet que l'on se propose dans ce tableau; c'est-à-dire le dessein d'appliquer à la distribution et à la description des maladies, la méthode analytique, la philosophie générale et distributive»; cf. *La Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, 1^{er} Trimestre, 20 vendémiaire an XII [13 octobre 1803], N° 2, p. 85, en note. Les N° 1 et 2 de *La Décade* portent la même date «10 vendémiaire», mais c'est une faute d'impression, car le N° 3 de la même revue est datée du 30 vendémiaire.

¹³⁰ Cf. ci-dessus, pp. 83-84.

¹³¹ *Journal*, III, 132.

cette passion fait passer l'âme, et enfin aux *habitudes de l'âme*. Il faut chercher surtout à nous garantir du vague. Chaque soir nous écrirons les traits d'avarice, d'amour, de dureté, que nous avons observés.¹³² Parmi les «passions simples», Beyle et Crozet rangent la faim, la soif, le sommeil, la chaleur, le coût.¹³³ Cette liste reproduit à peu de chose près celle que Beyle dressait, le 30 fructidor an XI (17 septembre 1803), sous le titre d'«Etats du corps» et qu'il empruntait à Lancelin.¹³⁴ Il dresse ensuite une liste des passions, des «habitudes de l'âme», des «états dans lesquels les passions font passer l'âme», et des «qualités de l'âme». Dans chacune de ces catégories l'auteur suit l'ordre alphabétique; mais malgré cette nouvelle disposition on reconnaît, parmi les «habitudes de l'âme», plusieurs sentiments empruntés, en dernière analyse, au «petit traité» de Lancelin: la bienveillance, la bienfaisance, la cruauté, l'inhumanité, la modestie, l'égoïsme, l'émulation, la prodigalité, la prudence, la sagesse. Il en est de même des «états dans lesquels les passions font passer l'âme». Sous cette rubrique, Beyle range l'abattement, l'accablement, l'allégresse, la gaieté, l'inquiétude, la jouissance, la joie, le malaise.¹³⁵ Bien que Beyle n'ait pas relu en 1811 *l'Introduction à l'analyse des sciences*, il est évident que son «Renouveau d'idéologie» renferme des classifications, des passions, et des nuances de sentiments découvertes d'abord chez Lancelin.

Dans ce même «Recueil de faits», Beyle se propose aussi d'enregistrer les traits que lui et Crozet auront observés; mais un coup d'œil jeté sur ces «comptes» dévoile que c'est surtout aux livres que ces psychologues ont eu d'abord recours. Ainsi donc, ce «Renouveau d'idéologie» n'est encore, sous une forme plus développée, que le «cahier» que Beyle se proposait de rédiger, en 1804, sur le modèle du «petit traité de Lancelin».¹³⁶

Le 15 août, Beyle écrivait lui-même, sous le titre «Comptes ouverts», le nom de deux passions: l'ambition et l'amitié;¹³⁷ mais il s'en tint à ces préliminaires. Cependant cette méthode l'enthousiasmait, comme en témoigne cette addition à la préface du «Renouveau», datée du 22 août: «La seule bonne manière d'étudier la poésie, la musique, la pein-

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 409.

¹³³ *Journal*, III, 413-17.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹³⁵ *Cf.* ci-dessus, pp. 83-84.

¹³⁶ *Cf.* ci-dessus, pp. 73-74.

¹³⁷ *Journal*, III, 418.

ture, la sculpture, etc., en un mot tous les arts, est : 1° de commencer par de nombreuses lectures des chefs-d'œuvre pour peupler la mémoire d'exemples; 2° d'étudier d'après une table analogue à la suivante l'expression de chaque passion, état de l'âme, etc., 1° dans les imitations de la nature; 2° pour la poésie dans l'histoire et dans la nature, pour les autres arts dans la nature seulement.¹³⁸

Ainsi donc, jusqu'en 1811, nous trouvons des traces, dans les écrits de Beyle, de l'influence de Lancelin. Avant d'examiner l'application qu'il fit plus tard de cette doctrine, résumons sa dette envers l'auteur de l'*Introduction*. Si Lancelin n'a pas le premier révélé à Beyle la distinction entre le cœur et la tête, il est certain que ce n'est qu'après avoir lu l'*Introduction à l'analyse des sciences* que Beyle s'est rendu compte de toute la portée de cette distinction. Lancelin lui a fait voir aussi que «l'étude de la tête et du cœur est à la base de toute connaissance». C'est également à l'auteur de l'*Introduction* que Beyle emprunte la description exacte de ces deux parties de l'homme moral et la théorie que les deux centres agissent l'un sur l'autre. L'importance des signes sur la faculté de penser, la nécessité de faire de bonnes définitions, ou des analyses exactes et complètes des mots, l'utilité des classifications: tous ces éléments de la méthode analytique ont été signalés à Beyle par Lancelin.

Quand le futur auteur du livre de l'*Amour* songe à entreprendre une étude méthodique des passions, c'est au petit traité de Lancelin qu'il a recours, et la description des sentiments et surtout des nuances de sentiments qui s'y trouve lui a été d'une utilité incontestable. C'est encore dans cette deuxième partie de l'*Introduction* que Beyle puise des remarques utiles sur le vice et la vertu, sur la science du monde et sur l'art d'aller à la chasse du bonheur—art qui consiste à ne pas se faire d'illusions sur le bonheur d'autrui, à ne pas vouloir des choses contradictoires, et surtout à connaître la vérité. Enfin, sans Lancelin, Beyle n'eût peut-être pas été capable de comprendre si vite et d'apprécier si justement les écrits de Destutt de Tracy.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 413. Addition autographe.

¹³⁹ Il est bon de remarquer, à ce propos, que sous bien des rapports, la méthode de ces deux idéologues est identique. Il serait souvent téméraire de vouloir distinguer, dans l'œuvre de Stendhal, l'influence de Lancelin de celle de Tracy. Cependant, ne suit-il pas la méthode de Lancelin, comme celle de Tracy, en étudiant la passion de l'amour? Il en indique la génération ou la naissance, il en fait une description exacte, ou une analyse com-

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Maints passages des œuvres romanesques de Stendhal portent l'empreinte de ce système psychologique. En faisant le portrait de ses héros et de ses héroïnes, il a constamment eu recours à la distinction entre le cœur et la tête, et la manière dont il la fait intervenir montre que cette distinction n'est pas, pour lui, un simple cliché. Citons, d'abord, à l'appui de cette affirmation, un passage d'*Armance*, où le héros, Octave de Malivert, se reproche d'avoir violé son serment de ne jamais aimer: «Oui, se disait-il, mon cœur est digne de mépris parce qu'il a commis une action que je m'étais défendue sous peine de la vie, et mon esprit est, s'il se peut, encore plus méprisable que mon cœur. Je n'ai pas vu une chose évidente: j'aime Armance».¹⁴⁰ Cette distinction est d'une telle importance aux yeux de l'auteur de la *Chartreuse de Parme* que, pour expliquer la mélancolie de Clélia Conti, il fait dire à Fabrice: «Mais elle a tant d'esprit, ou pour mieux dire d'âme, ... que peut-être ... méprise-t-elle le métier de son père; de là viendrait sa mélancolie».¹⁴¹ Stendhal tire encore parti de sa connaissance des deux centres pour expliquer l'indignation de Lucien, âme républicaine, quand il entend le noble M. de Serpierre se vanter d'avoir été lieutenant du roi à Colmar: «C'était à cette époque une âme naïve et s'ignorant elle-même; ce n'était pas du tout une tête forte, ou un homme d'esprit, se hâtant de tout juger d'une façon tranchante».¹⁴² Jusque dans *Lamuel*, il continue à faire le portrait de ses personnages d'après la division fondamentale de la «Filosofia nova»: pour justifier le dégoût de Lamuel lors de son retour chez ses parents après un séjour au château de Miossens, il observe: «Son cœur n'était point tendre, mais son esprit était distingué».¹⁴³

De même que Stendhal ne confond jamais le cœur et la tête, il marque bien la différence entre les sentiments et les idées: Lucien Leuwen arrive à excuser les «pensées basses» de Mme de Chasteller en

plète, il en fait une classification et en marque les nuances. En insérant dans le livre de l'*Amour* les traits de cette passion qu'il avait observés dans son propre cœur et dans les livres, Stendhal réalise, en partie, le projet conçu en 1804 d'indiquer «d'après le petit traité de Lancelin» les traits des passions observés dans l'histoire et dans les fictions.

¹⁴⁰ *Armance*, éd. R. Lebègue (Paris: Champion, 1925), p. 163.

¹⁴¹ *La Chartreuse de Parme*, éd. Pierre Jourda (Paris: Société les belles lettres, 1933), II, 93.

¹⁴² *Lucien Leuwen*, éd. H. Debraye (Paris: Champion, 1927), I, 194.

¹⁴³ *Lamuel*, éd. H. Martineau (Paris: Divan, 1928), p. 168.

constatant que ce sont les idées de sa caste, qu'elle a adoptées en étudiant son catéchisme; puis il finit par découvrir que «ce ne sont pas des idées, ce sont des sentiments».¹⁴⁴

L'auteur de *Lucien Leuwen* ne distingue pas seulement les deux centres et leurs facultés particulières: il excelle aussi à décrire les combats entre le cœur et la tête. Par exemple, l'esprit de Lucien se croit fondé à mépriser Mme de Chasteller, tandis que son âme a chaque jour de nouvelles raisons de l'adorer: «Le combat de son âme et de son esprit le rendait presque fou à la lettre, et certainement un des hommes les plus malheureux».¹⁴⁵

Mais Stendhal se plaît surtout à noter l'action du cœur sur la tête et vice versa, et les textes qui illustrent cette théorie ne font pas défaut. Lorsque Fabrice est conduit en prison et qu'il rappelle à Clélia leur première rencontre, elle demeure interdite: «La profonde pitié, et nous dirions presque l'attendrissement où elle était plongée, lui ôtèrent la présence d'esprit nécessaire pour trouver un mot quelconque».¹⁴⁶ Lorsque Lamiel demande à l'abbé Clément ce que c'est que l'amour, celui-ci peut à peine répondre: «La conversation avait été jusque-là tellement sincère et naïve que le jeune prêtre, distrait par son amour, n'eut pas la présence d'esprit de répondre qu'il ignorait ce que c'était que l'amour».¹⁴⁷ Mais si l'émotion ôte parfois la présence d'esprit, c'est l'âme qui forme l'esprit: Stendhal nous apprend que Lamiel «avait beaucoup d'esprit parce qu'elle avait une grande âme».¹⁴⁸

Il note pareillement l'influence de la tête sur le cœur; les efforts que fait Julien pour jouer le rôle d'amoureux auprès de la maréchale de Fervaques achèvent d'ôter toute force à son âme: «Souvent, la nuit, en traversant la cour immense de l'hôtel de Fervaques, ce n'était qu'à force de caractère et de raisonnements qu'il parvenait à se maintenir un peu au-dessus du désespoir».¹⁴⁹ Ce n'est qu'en ayant «recours à sa raison», c'est-à-dire à sa tête, que Julien arrive à «sentir» un peu

¹⁴⁴ *Lucien Leuwen*, I, 240. Le docteur Poirier, dans ce même roman, vante les «sentiments généreux» et les «idées élevées» des familles nobles de Nancy (p. 164).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 269.

¹⁴⁶ *La Chartreuse de Parme*, II, 36.

¹⁴⁷ *Lamiel*, p. 117; cf. aussi pp. 65-66.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 242. Dans ce texte l'influence d'Helvétius et surtout de Vauvenargues est sensible, mais il ne faut pas oublier que Lancelin a contribué à élucider l'action des passions, ou de l'âme, sur l'esprit.

¹⁴⁹ *Le Rouge et le noir*, éd. J. Marsan (Paris: Champion, 1923), II, 321.

de bonheur lorsqu'il réussit enfin à se faire aimer de Mathilde.¹⁵⁰ L'analyse et la méditation, opérations de l'esprit, détruisent souvent l'émotion. Voici ce qui se passe chez Mme de Rênal quand Julien commence à habiter le château des Rênal: «Elle se sentit tranquillisée par la présence de Julien; en l'examinant elle oubliait d'en avoir peur».¹⁵¹ Quelque chose d'à peu près analogue a lieu quand Julien se met à réfléchir à la scène violente qui vient de se dérouler entre lui et le maire de Verrières: «Cette méditation sur ce qui avait pu faire peur à l'homme heureux et puissant contre lequel une heure auparavant il était bouillant de colère, acheva de rasséréner l'âme de Julien».¹⁵² Fabrice del Dongo a besoin de se «raisonner pour être affligé» de sa prison.¹⁵³ En mettant en contraste Mathilde de la Mole et Mme de Rênal, l'auteur du *Rouge* souligne à la fois l'influence de la tête sur le cœur et du cœur sur la tête: «Madame de Rênal trouvait des raisons pour faire ce que son cœur lui dictait: cette jeune fille du grand monde ne laisse son cœur s'émouvoir que lorsqu'elle s'est prouvé par de bonnes raisons qu'il doit être ému».¹⁵⁴

Il serait étonnant que Stendhal ait retenu la division fondamentale de la «Filosofia nova» sans se rappeler les classifications de ce traité: quelques exemples suffiront pour prouver qu'il n'en est pas ainsi. Stendhal s'est souvenu, à maintes reprises, des «Habitudes de l'âme». C'est l'orgueil qui empêche Mathilde de s'avouer son amour pour Julien; elle y parvient, mais seulement après de grands efforts: «Ce n'était point sans combats que Mathilde avait écrit. Quel qu'eût été le commencement de son intérêt pour Julien, bientôt il domina l'orgueil qui, depuis qu'elle se connaissait, régnait seul dans son cœur. Cette âme haute et froide était emportée pour la première fois par un sentiment passionné. Mais s'il dominait l'orgueil, il était fidèle aux habitudes de l'orgueil».¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 195.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, 55.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 110. Cf. *La Chartreuse de Parme*, II, 256-57; *Lucien Leuwen*, I, 157, 239; IV, 240.

¹⁵³ *La Chartreuse de Parme*, II, 93.

¹⁵⁴ *Le Rouge et le noir*, II, 335.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171. Cf. *Lucien Leuwen*, IV, 327: «Tout à coup, cette habitude de l'âme [l'orgueil: le plus invétéré, le plus fortifié par l'habitude] et la passion cruelle, qui se disputaient le cœur de madame Grandet, réunirent leurs efforts pour la mettre au désespoir». Cf. aussi *Lucien Leuwen*, p. 257, pour «l'habitude de l'âme nommée pudeur».

De même qu'il y a des habitudes de l'âme, il est aussi des habitudes de l'esprit: dans *Lamiel* le docteur Sansfin cherche à faire passer la hauteur de la duchesse de Moissens pour «une mauvaise habitude de l'esprit». ¹⁵⁶

Pour la catégorie intitulée les «Etats de l'âme», le lecteur n'a que l'embarras du choix. L'exemple suivant, où Stendhal décrit ce qu'éprouve Julien en quittant sa première maîtresse, est parmi les plus saillants: «Il était dans cet état d'étonnement et de trouble inquiet où tombe l'âme qui vient d'obtenir ce qu'elle a long-temps désiré». ¹⁵⁷

Mais Stendhal n'a pas seulement retenu les idées directrices de la «Filosofia nova»; il s'est souvenu aussi de la description de la vanité qui l'avait frappée en lisant le «petit traité de Lancelin». Dans *Le Rouge et le noir*, l'auteur ne manque pas de signaler, à maintes reprises, la *petitesse* de M. de Rênal, le personnage le plus vaniteux du roman. ¹⁵⁸

En rendant compte du malheur de Julien Sorel, Stendhal se rappelle aussi ce que Lancelin avait affirmé au sujet des illusions que presque tous les hommes se font sur le bonheur des autres. Comme la plupart des pauvres, Julien confond les richesses et le bonheur. Il est tout ébahi en arrivant dans la cour de l'hôtel du marquis de La Mole et les salons qu'il traverse, avant d'arriver au cabinet de ce grand seigneur, redoublent son enchantement: «Comment peut-on être malheureux, pensait-il, quand on habite un séjour aussi splendide!» ¹⁵⁹ Ce n'est qu'à la fin du roman que ce jeune ambitieux sera désabusé.

Ainsi donc, Stendhal a été guidé, dans ces merveilleuses analyses du cœur humain qui constituent la partie la plus importante de son œuvre romanesque, par quelques-uns des mêmes principes psychologiques qu'il avait découverts et formulés en 1803 et en 1804. Comme nous nous sommes efforcés de le faire voir, nombre d'entre eux viennent de Lancelin.

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¹⁵⁶ *Lamiel*, p. 100.

¹⁵⁷ *Le Rouge et le noir*, I, 154.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. notamment *ibid.*, chaps. II, III, VI (p. 58); XXII (p. 253); XXIII (p. 255).

¹⁵⁹ *Le Rouge et le noir*, I, 79-80; II, 21-22. En signalant ainsi le pouvoir de l'imagination, Stendhal s'inspire aussi d'Helvétius, comme nous l'avons indiqué ci-dessus, p. 94, n. 118.

BOOK REVIEWS

This great argument: a study of Milton's "De doctrina christiana" as a gloss upon "Paradise lost." By MAURICE KELLEY. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. xiv+269.

That two studies of Milton's *Christian doctrine* have appeared in the last three years is indicative of the growing importance of theology to students of Milton. Kelley's volume is a more ambitious and a sounder study than that of Sewell.¹ Kelley's answers to the perplexing questions of the much-changed manuscript in which *Christian doctrine* comes to us are, at least to one who has no special knowledge of the manuscript, convincing. Against Sewell, he holds that the treatise was composed at about the same time as *Paradise lost*. He shows that most of the changes which Sewell thinks point to Milton's having changed his mind between *Paradise lost* and the final version of *Christian doctrine* are rather more rhetorical and stylistic than theological. These conclusions are buttressed by an exhaustive study of the hands of the manuscript of *Christian doctrine*.

The uses to which Kelley puts his conclusions are less happy. His contention that *Christian doctrine* can be used as a gloss on *Paradise lost* is weakened by at least two shortcomings. The first of these is the neglect of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theologians whom Milton used. It is probably unfair to expect of a literary scholar minute knowledge of Renaissance theology. But it is not improper to expect some acquaintance with such theologians as Zanchius, Rivetus, Calvin, and Grotius, all of whom Milton cites in his prose works. Kelley, so far as his citations show, uses only Ames, Wolleb, and Ursinus, the first two of whom are unoriginal compilers. Failure to check Milton's *Christian doctrine* against its probable sources results in several minor errors and at least one major misinterpretation. For instance, Kelley's argument against Sewell on the question of the abrogation of the Mosaic law is weakened when he fails to consult Zanchius, whom Milton cites on the point.² Likewise, his refutation of Sewell's contention that Ames' *Medulla* underlies the account of creation in *Christian doctrine* loses some of its force when he fails to note the fact that Milton took over almost the exact language of Rivetus on the meaning of the words ἔργα, κτίειν, and *create*.³ These, however,

¹ Arthur Sewell, *A study in Milton's "Christian doctrine"* (Oxford University Press, 1939).

² Professor A. S. P. Woodhouse pointed out the same failure in his review of Sewell's book in *MLR*, XXXIV (1939), 594.

³ *Christian doctrine*, I, vii (Columbia ed., XV, 16-17); Rivetus, *Exercitationes in Genesim*, in *Opera theologica* (Rotterdam, 1651), exercitatio I, p. 8.

are but minor blemishes compared with the serious overemphasis on Milton's heterodoxy which runs through the study. Better acquaintance with Milton's authorities would have prevented this misunderstanding.

Perhaps this neglect of theological literature is the basic reason for the weakness of many of Kelley's parallels. A great number are commonplaces which prove nothing beyond the conventionality of much of *Christian doctrine*. Others are forced. An extreme example of the latter sort appears on page 82:

Enrollment in the book of life, however, does not appear to signify eternal predestination, which is general, but some temporary and particular decision of God applied to certain men, on account of their works (CE, XIV, 93-95).

blotted out and ras'd

By thir Rebellion from the Books of Life.

Aside from the fact that *Christian doctrine* is speaking of *men* and *Paradise lost* of angels, one can fairly say that the two parts of the parallel simply do not meet.

Altogether, one feels that Kelley rides his thesis too hard. His insistence that *Paradise lost* be always interpreted in the exact sense of *Christian doctrine* not only leads him into a serious misinterpretation of Taylor's Milton's use of *Du Bartas*, but also ignores a basic principle of Milton criticism. This principle is that Milton, in order neither to offend his orthodox readers nor to betray his own conscience, sometimes adopts a formulation capable of two interpretations. For Milton's private interpretation one should by all means go to *Christian doctrine*, but for the interpretation which the bulk of his readers gave the formulation one must perforce go to some treasury of hexametral commonplace, and *Du Bartas* is the best of the kind. It will not do to insist that the only possible explanation of such passages as VIII, 419-20 is *Christian doctrine*. Six generations of readers and critics, who, ignorant of *Christian doctrine*, saw nothing heterodox in *Paradise lost*, rise to confute one.

The total effect of such overemphasis is to dilute a study whose general method and direction are admirable. For it is undeniable that the device of using *Christian doctrine* as a gloss upon *Paradise lost* achieves major triumphs in refuting Sewall, Saurat, and Tillyard. Of the several who have tried, no student of Milton has more effectively disposed of Saurat's insistence on Cabalistic influence in *Paradise lost* or of Tillyard's thesis of its fundamental pessimism than has Kelley.

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John Dryden: some biographical facts and problems. By JAMES MARSHALL OSBORN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv+295.

This collection of papers is introduced by a 113-page history of Dryden biography. Every biography of Dryden, long or short, is examined carefully

as to its contribution to our knowledge of Dryden's life and for its peculiarities of method. Thus, piece by piece, we are shown the growth of a fairly sizable number of facts we know concerning Dryden's life. Every piece of false or doubtful information of any importance is pointed out and discussed, and we see clearly whence exactly every detail has come and who has discovered, distorted, or invented it. Besides, the examination of the specific methods of the individual biographies gives us a miniature history of literary biography in England. The analyses of Johnson's, Malone's, and Scott's lives of Dryden are most thorough and illuminating studies of the biographical methods of these three great authors: their different temperaments, their diverse purposes and achievements, are brought out with great clarity. The distinctions between Johnson's primarily intellectual biography, Malone's painstaking antiquarian research, and Scott's portrait of Dryden against the background of contemporary literary and political history are drawn convincingly and seem to me the best and most valuable section of the book. The praise of Saintsbury's *Dryden* which follows is, however, far too lavish. Mr. Osborn ceases to pay exclusive attention to biographical fact and interpretation and gives us extracts from Saintsbury's critical dictums. The criticism he quotes and much more he leaves unquoted is, however, usually little more than the typical impressionist appreciation of "splendid poetry" which seems so deficient in any present-day perspective, whatever the merits of some of Saintsbury's sympathies may have been in their own time. After the consideration of Saintsbury, Mr. Osborn changes his procedure. He comments briefly on Leslie Stephen's article in the *DNB* and enumerates, with short comments, the later biographies by Churton Collins, Noyes, Montague Summers, etc. A detailed examination of these later lives and studies for their contribution to Dryden biography would have been profitable, especially if Mr. Osborn had widened his scope and paid attention to writings less exclusively devoted to biography. But, as the study stands, it should become, for its methodological clarity and purity, the model of similar examinations of the history of scholarship concerning other writers.

Mr. Osborn's long introductory study is followed by further miscellaneous studies connected with Dryden's biography. First, we get a transcript of the manuscript additions Malone made in his copy of his *Life of Dryden* in preparation for a second edition which never materialized. Their intrinsic value seems small, as most of the details Malone discovered have since been found by others. Then follow notes on Scott's *Life of Dryden*, which include the publication of a letter by Scott not contained in Grierson's edition, a list of Scott's factual discoveries, etc. A similar note lists Christie's contributions in his *Memoir of Dryden*. These appendixes are supplementary to the introductory history of scholarship. A second part of the book is devoted to independent researches on points connected with Dryden's biography. Mr. Osborn first discusses the *Medal of John Bayes* and reaffirms the ascription to Thomas Shadwell with convincing arguments. He shows that Shadwell's

information, however distorted by satirical purpose, must be taken seriously. It can scarcely be merely gossip if Shadwell says that Dryden was in Herringman's employ and "writ Prefaces to Bookes for Meat and Drink." A separate paper investigates this question and argues that it is possible to consider Dryden the author of several prefaces in Herringman's books. Especially the prefaces to the English translation of Dürfè's *Astrea* (1657-58), signed J. D., are likely to be by Dryden. The case is not susceptible of absolute proof, but, together with the evidence of Dryden's employment in Cromwell's service, this theory accounts satisfactorily for the obscure years in Dryden's early life. A further paper studies the petition of the King's Company in 1678, complaining of Dryden's negligence in fulfilling his contract. Mr. Osborn has deciphered an inked-over passage which refers to a further alleged promise made by Dryden and argues that the petition was never filed with the Lord Chamberlain. We then get an investigation of Dryden's London residences, which disposes of several legends, followed by a section bringing together evidence for Dryden's frequent absences from London on visits to his small estate in Northamptonshire or to country houses of noble patrons. Mr. Osborn then studies Dryden's relations with William Walsh, quoting from hitherto unpublished letters by Walsh to Dryden, and discovers the reasons for Langbaine's grudge against Dryden. A brief chapter investigates the British Museum copy of the 1679 edition of Spenser, with emendations and corrections in Dryden's own hand, and surveys the other books preserved from Dryden's library. Then follows a printing of four letters by Lady Elizabeth Dryden to Alexander Stephens and Edmond Malone, written in 1798 and 1799, which contain recollections of family traditions, and of a further letter from Miss Honor Pigott, a distant cousin, which lends countenance to the story of the unhappiness of Dryden's marriage. Mr. Osborn then argues that verses "under Count Konigsmark's Picture, by Mr. Dryden" in a volume in the Folger Library, could very well be his. He gives reasons why Thomas Sprat should have been jealous of Dryden and then quotes (with reproduction in facsimile) an unknown early letter by Dryden to Major Richard Salwey (1664), which concerns relations to a distant cousin. After some remarks on the notes of Oldys on Dryden, Mr. Osborn tries to solve the difficult question of Dryden's letters at Knole. He accounts for two of the three reported as existent and surmises that the third was destroyed during the nineteenth century for its obscenity. A further note establishes the date of the death of Dryden's son, John, in Rome, and gives a glimpse of his contacts with the Duke of Shrewsbury. Mr. Osborn argues the question of the original order of the notes known as "Heads of an Answer to Mr. Rymer" and comes to the sensible conclusion that the notes were scribbled in odd places without definite order. A last note displays evidence for Dryden's baptism on August 14, 1631, which disposes of the old theory that Dryden was a Baptist.

I have described the individual studies of the second part of Mr. Osborn's book in some detail in order to give an idea of the wealth of different questions

discussed. In their aggregate these papers throw much new light on the facts of Dryden's life and suggest that a new biography would be a worth-while undertaking. Mr. Osborn is obviously qualified to give us such a new life, based on critical sifting of the evidence and the new discoveries. But one cannot help reflecting that even the best and most critical life of Dryden could be little more than a collection of facts, anecdotes, and interpretations of the none-too-revealing letters preserved. Dryden, as a reading of the letters recently collected by Mr. Ward confirms, belonged to an age and a mental type not given to introspection and historical self-consciousness. Methods of antiquarian research, even if they disclose many more new facts, cannot produce more than an external biography of Dryden, Chaucer, Spenser, or Shakespeare. We cannot write the story of their emotional and mental evolution as we can write biographies of Coleridge or Carlyle, Wordsworth or Shelley, without even using their formal works, merely on the basis of their letters and journals. Still, the older writers present problems of mental and artistic evolution which can be solved by an intensive study of their works with the methods of literary criticism. The almost complete divorce between external biography and such a study of the poet's development in times before the dawn of historical consciousness presents an interesting methodological problem which would deserve discussion. It is sharply brought home by an antiquarian study such as Mr. Osborn has given us.

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The letters of Joseph Addison. Edited by WALTER GRAHAM. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xxxvi+527.

Mr. Graham's edition is the first separate publication of Addison's correspondence; it is also the first with any valid pretensions to completeness or scholarly equipment. It increases the two hundred letters collected by Bohn to seven hundred, it corrects a number of earlier errors of fact, and it provides the letters with much-needed documentation. The materials have been collected from a wide variety of sources, public and private; and the editor deserves praise for the industry and ingenuity which he has shown in assembling them within the covers of one handsomely printed volume. The printing of the letters to Joshua Dawson (which the lamented A. C. Guthkelch had had transcribed before the destruction of the originals in 1922) alone makes the present volume a notable addition to our knowledge of one hitherto rather obscure period of Addison's life.

A peculiar and unfortunate feature of Addison's letters is the fact that many are either impersonal "news-letters" or notes dealing with official business. As secretary to Lord Wharton in 1709-10 and later as Secretary of State (1717-18), Addison had occasion to write—or in many cases simply to sign—a number of letters concerning purely business routine. Can these be properly regarded as a part of Addison's "correspondence"? Mr. Graham

solves the problem by placing most of them in an appendix and printing them only in abstract. To students interested in the details of Queen Anne diplomacy and public administration this decision represents a loss, particularly since the texts of these as given in Bohn cannot be relied on. But the student of Addison can scarcely regret this method of disposing of them.¹

In addition to this appendix of abstracted letters, Mr. Graham has printed in a second appendix a selection of letters addressed to Addison. It is difficult to see the advantage in such an arrangement, since the reader is faced with three separate chronological series—the main text of Addison's correspondence, the letters in abstract, and finally those addressed to Addison. One chronological order, with smaller type for the letters in abstract and those addressed to Addison, would provide a more orderly and readable arrangement.² One wishes too that more letters to Addison had been provided, particularly when such letters would throw light on those here printed.³ Only three from Swift are included, and none from Pope, Edward Wortley, or Steele.

Although it cannot be said that the letters here published alter our conception of Addison's character, they supply a number of details which are of interest to the student of Addison's life—the dates of his arrival in Paris and return to England, his obtaining of the Keepership of the Records in Bermingham Tower, his unlucky speculation in shoes, his movements in London and the country during the period of the *Spectator*, his winning of a thousand pounds in the lottery, and his purchase and improvement of Bilton Hall. It is true that most of these details have long been known,⁴ but the publication of the full texts of the letters will be welcomed by students of the period.

It is not Mr. Graham's fault that so many of the letters of Addison are tedious and utterly without the essayist's charm. Even the more personal too often degenerate into summaries of news. Occasionally they come to life, as when Addison writes to Godolphin from Dublin (June 25, 1709) over the difficulties caused by the word "hops" appearing in the book of rates as "hoops," or when he describes King George reviewing the horse guards in Hyde Park (to Charles Delafaye, June 7, 1715). There is a foreshadowing of "Mr. Spectator" in the description of the sour actuary in the Irish committee

¹ On the question as to which letters should be printed in abstract, opinions will differ; Nos. 60 and 69 seem to me worth printing in full. Again, some of the editor's statements regarding these abstracted letters are misleading: Nos. 366 and 367 are not "printed in Bohn" but given only in abstract; the same is true of Nos. 468, 514, 567, 585, 669, and 670. Occasionally the student will find Bohn's abstracts more informative than Mr. Graham's; No. 497, e.g., which reads, "Unimportant routine form addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland," is given in Bohn: "Transmitting Memorial of Lord Stockalan, desiring a post in the army suitable to his seniority, or the Government of Athlone" (cf. similarly Nos. 491, 502, 503, 664, and 668). One is surprised to find in one case (No. 440) Bohn's tentative dating of a letter silently accepted (Bohn reads: "Query, about July 19, 1715").

² As a matter of fact, one letter to Addison has been printed in the main body of the text—No. 242, from Mary Addison.

³ An obvious instance is the letter by Edward Wortley in reply to No. 321 (see Bohn, V, 401-2).

⁴ Portions of the letters concerned were published by Herbert Wood in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, XXXIV (1905), 133-56.

of convocation (to Sunderland, June 28, 1709), and an interesting self-revelation in regard to Addison's relations with the Duke of Ormonde (to Delafaye, June 18, 1715). But for the most part the letters are as impersonal as the news columns of the *Daily courant* beginning: "Dispatches from Lisbon inform us. . . ." Even on such contemporary events as the Sacheverell affair, or the anti-Protestant demonstrations in Dublin in the summer of 1710, Addison is silent. Nor do the letters shed new light on such long-standing biographical problems as the quarrel with Pope or the quarrel between Steele and Swift, the question of Addison's share in the *Tatler* and *The tender husband*,⁵ the authorship of particular papers in the *Spectator*, the date of composition of *Cato*, Addison's relations with the Rushout family, etc. There is but one letter to Steele.⁶

The problem of documentation becomes particularly vexatious in such letters as Addison's, with hundreds of names of early eighteenth-century celebrities—and nonentities—coming up for identification. It scarcely seems necessary, on the one hand, to give the obvious footnote for "Lord Roch—r & D— of L—ds & E— of Nott-g-hm" (in No. 290); and, on the other hand, to identify "Mr Gervaise" (in No. 23) only with the name "Charles Hubert Gervaise" is not very helpful. Since many of the names recur frequently, a single biographical appendix might have been useful. Mr. Graham's method is unsystematic and not calculated to make the way easy for the student. "Mr. Broderick the Speakers Brother," for instance, is first encountered on page 144 and mentioned again on page 158 ("Mr Broderick") and page 173 ("Tom Brodric"); it is not until page 175 that a note is provided, not too full, on "Thomas Brodrick."⁷ The "Index of persons" assists in locating footnote identifications, but the reader will find a great many names unidentified and unindexed. For all the Dublin letters he will do well to have at hand F. Elrington Ball's edition of the correspondence of Swift, with its comprehensive index and elaborate notes.

Wherever possible, of course, Mr. Graham prints from manuscript sources, and here he retains Addison's spelling and punctuation and his contractions of common words, with the laudable aim of "reproducing, in so far as this is possible, the individual flavour of Addison's letters." When he has had to depend on printed versions, "first copies . . . or the earliest printed text, have been faithfully followed, except in the use of the long 's'" (p. xxxiv). At times, however, he uses a later printed version, and the reason for his decision is not always clear. Letter 21, for example (to Bishop Hough, November 29, 1700), Mr. Graham chooses to print from a copy in the *Athenaeum* (September 1, 1888, p. 290), although it differs in several important respects

⁵ There is, however, an instance (No. 234) of Addison's preventing a scandalous story from appearing in the *Tatler*.

⁶ In the *Correspondence of Steele*, edited by Rae Blanchard, there is another letter from Addison to Steele, dated March 4, 1709/10. Miss Blanchard's edition was published at the same press and in the same year as Mr. Graham's edition of Addison.

⁷ Cf. also the references to Peter Ludlow (first appearing on p. 169).

from the "earliest printed" version in Lucy Aikin.⁸ One would like to know the provenience of the *Athenaeum* text and Mr. Graham's reasons for choosing it.⁹ Even in the case of the letters based on Aikin or Bohn (and many have no better source), the reader often cannot be sure which text is better or which text Mr. Graham has followed. He cites Aikin, for instance, as his source for No. 473 (to the Earl of Peterborough, May 6, 1717) but patently follows the text of Bohn, which shows marked differences from that of Aikin. Such matters do not inspire confidence and can only cause annoyance to future users of the book. One has a right to a fuller discussion of the present available texts, of their comparative reliability, and, above all, of the principles which have guided the editor in his choice.

Since so many of the originals are no longer available, it is impossible to pass judgment on the accuracy of all the texts, but the few which I have been able to check are by no means free from error. The three letters to Bishop Hough (Nos. 20, 21, and 23) show disquieting divergences from the texts in the *Athenaeum*, ranging from carelessness in reproduction of capitals and punctuation to silent omission of words, addition of words, and alteration of still others. The texts based on Bohn are frequently no better transcribed; in one case (No. 592) four entire lines of text are dropped out. The letter to Pope of October 26, 1713 (No. 344), offers as source only "Pope's *Literary correspondence*, 1735," so that it is difficult to know which edition has been used. The text printed by Mr. Graham is nearest Griffith 375, 381, and 383; but it differs even from these in printing (l. 17) "I know none of this age" as "I know of none in this age." The letters reproduced from the *HMC* reports take frequent (and inconsistent) liberties with capitalization (Nos. 429, 439, 447, 448, 449) and spelling (Nos. 447, 448) and, on occasion, alter, add, and omit words (Nos. 448, 449). The letters to Joshua Dawson are, of course, irretrievably lost, but Herbert Wood used them in the article which I have already cited. It is interesting to note that No. 154 contains a different reading from that given by Wood; and the same is true to a greater extent in the letter from Captain Pratt to Addison quoted by Mr. Graham on page 129, note 2 (where the reference to Wood's article is wrongly given).

One can only regret that an edition upon which so much labor has been expended should reveal so many demonstrable errors. It is inconceivable that another recension of Addison's letters will be contemplated for a long time to come, if ever; consequently, a reliable text—so far as is humanly possible—would seem to be an editor's first concern.

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⁸ Among other things, the *Athenaeum* text omits the statement that Malebranche "very much prais'd Mr. Newton's Mathematics, shook his head at y^e name of Hobbes, and told me he thought him a *pauvre esprit*" (Aikin, I, 91).

⁹ Mr. Graham merely remarks (p. 27 n.) that it is based "on an original not now available." The *Athenaeum* itself printed the letter through the "courtesy of the Rev. W. D. Macray" and stated that the letter was "in private hands." Lucy Aikin (I, 93) cited the Tickell papers as the source of her version.

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